

## A Personal Triumph For González in Spain

### Charmed Again by a Familiar Leader, Voters Shied Away From the Unknown

By Alan Riding  
New York Times Service

MADRID — With the domestic economy in a slump, the Socialist Party muddled by corruption scandals and the electorate tired of the same old faces, Spain's conservative opposition seemed to have had everything going for it. Yet, in the end, Prime Minister Felipe González again demonstrated his ability to charm Spanish voters by winning his fourth successive general election.

While the Socialists lost 16 seats in the 350-member lower house of parliament, they nonetheless emerged as the largest single party by a

margin. But neither man detailed how he would do so. If the Socialists defeated the Popular Party, then, it was more because the known prevailed over the unknown, with Mr. González able to convince many voters unhappy with his administration that a rightist government might reduce welfare benefits and pensions.

Financial markets, which were gambling on a change of government, responded calmly Monday to the Socialist victory, seeing it as a guarantee that, despite three devaluations in nine months, the peseta will remain part of Europe's system of linked exchange rates. (Page 11)

#### NEWS ANALYSIS

much bigger margin over the conservative Popular Party — 159 to 141 seats — than anyone had predicted. And, for that, Mr. González was given the credit.

As he returns to the mundane task of governing, he faces new complications, not least that, for the first time since he took office in 1982, the Socialists no longer control parliament. And before parliament convenes on June 29, he must choose between forming a minority or a coalition government.

Both involve risks. Close aides say he would prefer a minority government that negotiates parliamentary support on a case-by-case basis. A coalition, in contrast, might be more stable, but it could force him to accept demands for greater regional autonomy by, say, Catalan or Basque nationalists.

In either case, his main task will be to tackle an economic crisis that is threatening to undermine the advances achieved during the boom years between 1985 and 1991. Yet, once again, with all of Europe's major economies currently in trouble, he has no easy options.

During the campaign, Mr. González and José María Aznar, the head of the conservative Popular Party, promised to reduce unemployment (which now stands at nearly 22 percent), and to revive economic growth (the economy is shrink-

ing). But neither man detailed how he would do so. If Mr. González has won time to tackle the economy, however, the elections merely papered over a deep rift inside the Socialist Party that the 51-year-old prime minister must now address. And, even outside the party, his response will be measured against his promise to clean up Spanish politics.

While old-style leftists in the party have often complained about the government's pro-business policies, corruption is at the center of the crisis, with one particular scandal over illegal party financing, which Mr. González said he learned about in newspapers, badly damaging the Socialists' image.

Now the question is whether Mr. González will use his enhanced prestige to carry out a thorough purge of the party with a view to preparing it for the future.



WAR PAINT — A Bosnian Serb in a special operations unit, applying camouflage before a mission against Breko. The Muslim-led government on Monday conditionally agreed to cooperate with United Nations forces on the safe-areas plan for Bosnia. Page 2.

## Ukrainians Assure Aspin They Favor Nuclear Plan

### U.S. Defense Secretary Proposes Removal and Storage of Warheads

By R. Jeffrey Smith  
Washington Post Service

SHANNON, Ireland — Ukrainian officials responded favorably Monday to a U.S. suggestion that nuclear warheads on their territory be separated from the missiles that carry them and stored under international supervision in Ukraine.

The plan, presented in Kiev to the Ukrainian president, Leonid M. Kravchuk, and to the country's defense minister by Secretary of Defense Les Aspin, is one of several new U.S. ideas aimed at heading off a dispute between Ukraine and Russia over control of the former Soviet warheads.

In addition to endorsing the storage plan in principle, the Ukrainians also welcomed Mr. Aspin's proposals for increasing U.S.-Ukrainian military contacts, helping improve conventional forces and mediating in other Ukraine-Russia security disputes, according to U.S. officials.

The proposals — as well as Mr. Aspin's visit itself — are meant to persuade Ukrainians that they "have a big friend" and can give up the nuclear warheads without sacrificing their national security, said a senior official traveling on Mr. Aspin's plane back to Washington.

Storing the warheads under international supervision, possibly with U.S. participation, would diminish tensions between the two countries by blocking any use of the warheads to threaten the other's security, officials said.

It would also complicate Ukraine's continuing effort to keep open a nuclear option by trying to unlock Russian controls on the warheads and gain launch access to them.

U.S. officials said details of the storage plan remained to be worked out and that Washington must overcome Russian objections before it can be implemented.

The Russian defense minister, General Pavel S. Grachev, told Mr. Aspin at a meeting earlier in Germany that he favored Ukraine's immediate and unconditional surrender of the warheads to Russia.

The plan also could require approval of Ukraine's parliament, where a growing number of legislators favor Ukraine's retention of its own nuclear arsenal.

Several legislators told Mr. Aspin in a private meeting in Kiev on Monday that they remained fearful of Russian designs on their country, and Mr. Aspin said afterward that it was "risky to predict the outcome of a vote" on the weapons.

Appearing at Mr. Aspin's side at a news conference here, the Ukrainian defense minister, Colonel General Konstantin Morozov, reiterated his support for the government's pledge that it would eventually become nonnuclear.

He also said Mr. Aspin's expression of "understanding" for Ukrainian security concerns and his suggestion for resolving the warhead problem had created a "positive attitude" that may influence the parliament's decision.

Mr. Aspin, for his part, stressed that Washington believed that an independent and economically strong Ukraine was in the United States' best interests, a circumstance that he said justified a "working relationship" between U.S. and Ukrainian military forces.

He also took pains to praise the participation of Ukrainian troops in peacekeeping in the former Yugoslavia, saying that Ukraine was "doing more than its fair share."

Officials said Mr. Aspin and General Morozov had agreed to let U.S. experts advise Ukraine on defense logistics, training, personnel and military medicine.

But he did not go as far as to suggest U.S. See UKRAINE, Page 6

## India's Dirty New War: Chilling Tales of Atrocities From Kashmir

By Molly Moore and John Ward Anderson  
Washington Post Service

SRINAGAR, India — Major General S. K. Sanyal, on his way to the college dormitory, found Indian security officers pulled him off a city bus, hauled him to an interrogation camp, accused him of being a terrorist and tortured him with repeated electric shocks.

The troops then drove Mr. Sultan, 19, to a deserted canal bank and leaned him against a tree, where, he recalled, five officers fired at him. Mr. Sultan crumpled to the ground, and one of the officers pumped three more bullets into his body. Two hours later, Indian security forces told the police

to retrieve the corpse of a militant who had been killed near the canal in the cross-fire of a gun battle.

"Recently a small parcel of Mr. Sultan's, which he lived to tell it, doctors said, the dusty student, who lost a great amount of blood, survived primarily because none of the bullets punctured vital organs or vessels.

In recent months, a conflict little noticed in most of the world has begun to escalate in the deceptively bucolic mountain valley of Kashmir, where residents say Indian Army and security forces are waging a brutal campaign of torture, terror and killings against militants fighting for independence. While militants also are accused of murders,

rapes and other atrocities, residents say Indian troops are far more brutal.

The struggle is changing everyday life in Kashmir, which is part of the northern Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. Many more civilians are dying than either military forces or rebels. According to records maintained by local journalists, lawyers and doctors, from 12,000 to 20,000 people have been killed in more than three years of violence.

"We are living in fear and terror," said Amina Nazir, whose tiny second-floor apartment overlooks the charred debris of Srinagar's main shopping area, Lal Chowk. Government forces burned more than 300 houses and shops

there last month in retaliation for a guerrilla attack on an empty military building.

"There is no justice, no law and order," Mr. Sultan said at the Bone and Joint Hospital, where he has undergone four operations for the injuries he received April 8. "A security person can do what he wants to catch any person. I am not a militant. I just wanted to do my studies."

Indian officials interviewed in New Delhi insisted that Mr. Sultan was a militant who was caught in the cross-fire of a gun battle between guerrillas and security forces.

The battle over Muslim-dominated Kashmir has led to See KASHMIR, Page 6

## GE Lights a Painful Path to Prosperity

By Lawrence Malkin  
International Herald Tribune

NEW YORK — When Frank Doyle was the boss of General Electric's labor relations early in the 1980s, the company was a bureaucratic monstrosity.

GE had 29 pay grades and 12 layers of management. Its managers used to visit each other's offices with their heads cocked slightly aloft, counting ceiling tiles. That told them their relative office size and thus their rank in the corporate hierarchy.

Now, Mr. Doyle says from his perch as executive vice president, GE has only five broad and flexible pay bands, top management is separated from the shop floor by only five levels, and the executives gather to talk about overhauling work practices at freewheeling ses-

sions that resemble New England town meetings.

GE overhauled itself ahead of the curve, because, as Mr. Doyle says, "you have to do it early, when you have the money." But still it

Starting Over  
Restructuring businesses and economies.  
9th and 10th in a series of articles.  
Page 11: Italy's Pinelli clears house.

was so painful that GE's boss, Jack Welch, became known as "Neutron Jack" because he fired so many employees, seemingly leaving GE's buildings standing empty.

Traditionally self-renewing — GE is the only one of the original 30 companies that is still a

component of the Dow Jones Industrial Average — it has gone where General Motors, IBM and others in the United States and around the world will have to go to survive.

Focused on high technology, twice as big in revenue, three times as profitable and at least twice as productive as it was before, GE also is about 115,000 workers smaller, having shed more jobs during the past decade than it did in the Depression.

Management gurus, business and social analysts, and especially politicians who have been watching the profits of corporations recover along with the U.S. economy call this condition "jobless prosperity." They agree that it will be the most vexing socioeconomic phenomenon of

See GE, Page 13



ROYAL COUPLE — Crown Prince Naruhito and Masako Owada chatting for photographers on the grounds of the palace that will be their residence after their wedding Wednesday. The 29-year-old future crown princess has been the subject of intense study by both the Japanese and foreign press in recent weeks. Page 6.

#### Kiosk

### U.S. Tells Japan Envoy to Cut Surplus

WASHINGTON (WP) — The administration called Monday on Japan to reduce its worldwide trade surplus dramatically over the next three to four years. It presented its message to Ambassador Takakazu Kuriyama of Japan at the White House.

U.S. officials warned that Japan would face increasingly severe economic pressures

from around the world if it was unable to slash the surplus.

The message to Japan was contained in a proposed "framework" for a new economic policy between the two countries. American and Japanese officials will meet Friday in Washington to begin discussions of the proposal.

#### Business/Finance

New rules for Latin American stocks. Page 14.

Japan expects a recovery toward year-end. Page 15.

General News

A general is being investigated for allegedly having mocked Clinton. Page 3.

Chess Page 7.

#### Dow Jones

Down 13.01  
8,832.13

Up 0.47%  
102.38

The Dollar

New York: 1.8185  
1.8204

London: 1.5225  
1.508

Yen: 107.105  
107.725

FF: 5.4573  
5.4785

## Carriacou (It's an Island) Cries for Liberty

By Howard W. French  
New York Times Service

HILLSBOROUGH, Carriacou — In these times of blossoming multiculturalism, the tiny Caribbean island of Carriacou has decided that self-respect demands that it, too, should join the struggle to say its piece.

For too long, residents say, they have been the silent victims of their administrative overlords in Grenada, or the "mainland," 20 miles south, and they have begun to insist that they be allowed to assert their own traditions.

The unlikely inspiration for this dissonance under the sedating Windward climes is an activity that the 6,000 Carriacouans assert is ingrained in their very fiber: contraband, or *bobol*, as it is known in the local, French-inspired patois.

In a debate that they assert strongly echoes the American independence movement against Britain, they have begun to argue that with little in the way of return on their taxes paid to Grenada, there is no reason they should submit to customs duties on imported goods imposed by their sister island.

Unlike Grenada with its banana and nutmeg farming, they say, the people here make their living through a combination of fishing and trading goods freely and informally through the region. To interfere with this livelihood, Carriacouans can be heard to say, would be to rob them of their birthright.

Fittingly, the Patrick Henry of this drama is an American-trained lawyer, Anselm B. Clouten, who by evoking the seafaring ways of his

ancestors, and their descendants' supposed mistreatment at the hands of Grenadians, has begun to arouse nationalist passions.

To the outsider, Carriacouans and Grenadians can seem very much alike, both in appearance and accent. As might be suspected, the two islands share much common history, from the destruction of local Indian populations to the importation of slave labor from West Africa and colonial rule under France, then Britain.

But comparisons bring from Mr. Clouten a detailed and impassioned accounting of the cultural differences that separate the people here from Grenadians.

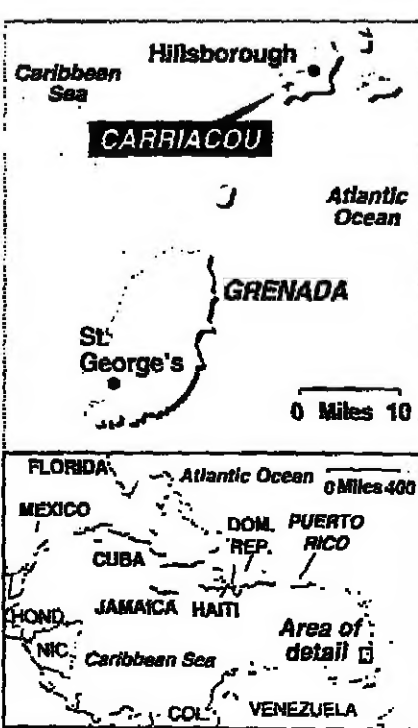
"Grenada has evolved from a plantocracy, so their mentality is different from ours," said Mr. Clouten, peppering his speech with phrases like "liberty or death," and "taxation without representation," evocative of the American Revolution. "We, being a small island, look to the sea for our living."

If Carriacou can be said to have had its own Tea Party, most residents would say the event was the arrival some months back of a British customs expert contracted by the government of Grenada to see to it that import duties were being paid here.

When the agent arrived on a Saturday, residents recount, none of the island's few taxis would carry him with his bags to his temporary residence. On the next Monday, when offices opened, local government workers, too, refused to help him, and police officers had to be sent from Grenada to assist.

Many here described this passive resistance as a deeply satisfying, if

See ISLE, Page 6





## Bosnia to Cooperate On UN Safe Areas, But With Conditions

Compiled in Our Staff From Dispatches

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Bosnia's Muslim-led government said Monday that it would cooperate with UN troops on a plan for Muslim safe areas, although it was dissatisfied with the Security Council resolution to protect them.

In a statement sharply criticizing the international community's attitude toward the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the government added a series of demands on the status of the six areas designated as safe by the United Nations.

The grudging decision reflected desperation for peace after 14 months of losses in a war that has left at least 138,000 people dead or missing and made refugees of more than 2 million others.

Bosnian Serb forces pursued their assault on the beleaguered eastern enclave of Gorazde for 12th day on Monday, and Bosnian radio reported that another supposed safe area, Srebrenica, had been shelled over the weekend.

Meanwhile, UN military sources said that hundreds of people had been killed in fighting between Muslims and Croats in Travnik, in central Bosnia.

The Security Council resolution, adopted Friday, authorizes the sending of forces to protect six Muslim enclaves. In accepting the plan Monday, the government set the following conditions:

• That the zones be expanded beyond the proposed six cities and their immediate vicinities to include their "economic hinterlands," an undefined, much broader region.

• That they be connected by UN-controlled safe roads to the few remaining government-held regions.

• That besieging Serbs withdraw heavy weapons from the vicinity of the proposed safe zones.

• That the Security Council reaf-

firm its commitment to the Vance-Owen plan as the ultimate goal.

• That the United Nations post monitors on the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Commenting on casualties in the Muslim-Croat fighting in Travnik, a UN officer said: "I believe the number of dead is a matter of hundreds. We don't know the precise figure because we still can't get in to all the villages."

UN military sources said the Muslims had driven Croatian forces out of Travnik over the weekend, and had pushed out about 3,000 Croatian civilians on Monday. (Reuters, AP)

## Accused Serb Asks Help From Hillary Clinton

The Associated Press

BELGRADE — Lawyers defending Vuk Draskovic, the leader of Serbia's democratic opposition, appealed Monday to Hillary Clinton, a lawyer, to help free him.

Draskovic and his wife, Danica, were arrested and reportedly beaten on Wednesday after the biggest anti-government protests in Belgrade in more than two years.

They face up to 15 years in jail on various charges and are being held in pretrial custody in a tough crackdown on what remains of Serbia's democratic opposition. Several pro-Draskovic protests reportedly have been banned since his arrest.

"We are calling on Hillary Clinton to provide professional assistance in our efforts to free Vuk Draskovic," said Mr. Draskovic's lawyer, Borivoje Borovic.

President Bill Clinton recently was host to Mr. Draskovic at a White House breakfast for East European politicians.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Yeltsin Receives Surprise Support From Chief Justice for Strong Rule

MOSCOW (Reuters) — Valeri D. Zorkin, chief justice of the Russian Constitutional Court, offered President Boris N. Yeltsin some unexpected support on Monday, saying he backed a new charter for Russia.

Mr. Zorkin, a key arbitrator in Russia's power struggle, is formally independent but has several times sided with conservatives against Mr. Yeltsin. The Itar-Tass news agency quoted him Monday as having said that he "favored strong presidential power in Russia."

Tass said Mr. Zorkin singled out several positive aspects in Mr. Yeltsin's opening speech to the assembly showing signs of willingness to compromise and grant parliament a role in approving a new constitution to replace the Soviet charter.

On the other hand, Mr. Zorkin criticized President Yeltsin's assertion that regional soviets, or councils, were incompatible with democracy and his call for early parliamentary elections. Mr. Zorkin qualified his remarks on presidential power by saying it must not be "dictatorial" and that there should be a balance between the executive and legislative branches of authority.

### Thatcher Assails Major on EC Stand

LONDON (Reuters) — Former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher asserted Monday that the government of John Major, her successor, had betrayed the trust of the British people by denying them a referendum on the Maastricht treaty for closer European Community integration.

"No elector in this country has been able to vote against Maastricht," she said at the start of a two-day debate in the House of Lords. "It has been impossible to do so, and I think when one looks at the extent of the power being handed over, it is disgraceful if we deny them that opportunity." The House of Commons has already ratified the treaty.

"The treaty would undermine our age-old parliamentary and legal institutions, both far older than those in the Community," she said. "We have so much more to lose by the Maastricht treaty than any other state in the Community. It will diminish democracy and increase bureaucracy."

### Tenfold Rise in AIDS Funds Sought

BERLIN (Reuters) — Two world agencies at the ninth international AIDS conference called on Monday for a tenfold increase in spending to combat the epidemic and save 10 million lives this decade.

The World Health Organization called on governments and other groups to provide \$2.5 billion annually, and the World Bank endorsed the plan. The funds would spearhead efforts aimed at prevention in developing countries, a drive that could save 10 million lives before the year 2000, said Michael Merson, head of WHO's AIDS program. Dean Jamison, a senior World Bank official, said the bank would soon publish a report advocating a sharp increase in health-care spending, of which a large portion should be devoted to AIDS.

President Richard von Weizsäcker of Germany opened the conference on Monday with an appeal for more compassion and less moralizing toward AIDS victims.

### Major Overhaul for Japan Socialists?

TOKYO (Reuters) — The Socialist Party, in a draft platform, is proposing a radical shift in its policies, declaring that socialism does not work. The draft, called the "1993 Declaration," says: "The collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe bears witness to the fact that socialist means were wrong."

The plan is to be submitted to the party executive committee for approval later this year and is expected to meet strong resistance from hard-liners within the main opposition party.

The draft also proposes that the Socialists approve the 1951 U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and the existence of the Self-Defense Forces, the nation's military. The Cold War-era platform rejected the treaty.

### Reformist Claims Victory in Bolivia

LA PAZ (AP) — Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, a mining executive who was raised in the United States, claimed victory Monday in Bolivia's presidential elections, based on unofficial returns. He promised to work for a government based on social justice, honesty and change. President Jaime Paz Zamora is barred by law from running for re-election.

Mr. Sánchez de Lozada, who must be formally voted into office by National Congress in August, comes from a wealthy land-owning family. His running mate, Victor Hugo Cárdenas, an Aymara Indian intellectual and educator, grew up in an adobe hut near the shores of Lake Titicaca.

Mr. Sánchez de Lozada promises to give Bolivian Indian farmers political power and to respect Indian languages and culture in the educational system. During his campaign, Mr. Sánchez de Lozada said Bolivia needed a revolution to end corruption and improve the social and economic conditions of most Bolivians.

### Angola Puts Train Attack Toll at 300

LISBON — The chief of staff of Angola's armed forces said Monday that up to 300 people died in a UNITA rebel attack on a train in southern Angola on May 27 — far higher than was announced previously.

General João de Matos, interviewed by Portugal's TSF radio during a visit to Lisbon, said most of the dead were civilians. First reports of the attack, at Quipungo, 800 kilometers (500 miles) south of the capital, Luanda, put the death toll at about 100 with 150 wounded.

UNITA attacked a train carrying the death toll, up to yesterday, of about 300 people. General de Matos said. He said the rebels detonated explosives under the train carrying 3,000 people, causing the rear carriages to derail, then attacked the survivors. UNITA says the train carried soldiers, many in civilian clothes, and arms and ammunition.

## TRAVEL UPDATE

A tribal chief in Swaziland has banned women from wearing trousers on the grounds that this is disrespectful to tradition and to the country's monarch. Senior Chief Lusendo Fakudze, a royal counselor, passed the regulation over the weekend, saying it was "shameful" for women to wear slacks in public, according to local news reports in Mbabane. Under Swazi law, the edict of a chief is law in his district and the police will enforce the ban, the reports said. (AP)

Direct flights to Angola from Johannesburg have been re-established by South African Airways. The flights were suspended in November during a diplomatic dispute. (Reuters)

Berlin and Kaliningrad, the westernmost Russian enclave, are linked by direct air service as of Monday, Itar-Tass press agency said. One flight a week will connect Berlin with Kaliningrad, which is separated from the rest of Russia by the Baltic state of Latvia. (Reuters)

## A Fragrant Takeover Bid Pops Champagne's Corks

By Suzy Menkes

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The liquid is a familiar pale yellow, but the little bottle has twists of rope restraining its dimpled stopper. And when Yves Saint Laurent popped open his new Champagne fragrance Monday, it set off a spray of invective.

"Shame," cried France's Champagne producers as they first tried to disrupt the launching of the new fragrance at a Paris hotel, and then held an impromptu press conference.

Twenty-one representatives of France's Champagne industry were protesting Saint Laurent's appropriation of a name that is limited by French law to wines produced in the country's Champagne region. "We will take this case to court, because even we allow someone to use the name, where will it end? Next cigarettes, finally diapers!" said Marc Brugnion, president of the Syndicat des Vignerons de Champagne. "We spend 20 million francs a year protecting Champagne throughout the world and now we have been taken hostage by a famous French company."

Leaving a feast of lobster and Champagne (the real Louis Roderer thing), Pierre Bergé, Saint Laurent's president, burst into the winemakers' gathering to distribute bottles of his own (the new Saint Laurent thing).

"I am convinced that for a house of the stature of Saint Laurent to call a perfume Champagne is the greatest possible help and can only increase its image in the world," said Mr. Bergé, who expects the fragrance to turn over 200 million francs (about \$40 million) in its first four months. Mr. Bergé said that he had actually bought the name "Champagne" from Caron, a perfume company that established its fragrance in 1942.

Behind the storm in a Champagne flute, the serious issues are the need to protect a French industry facing layoffs after the bubbly 1980s, and the challenge to a government statute by a firm, Saint Laurent, that was bought this year by Sanofi, a division of the state-owned company Elf-Aquitaine.

## U.S. Ruling Opens Schools to After-Hours Religious Activity

By Joan Biskupic

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court in two separate actions opened the door Monday for greater religious activity in public schools, while at the same time revealing the justices' continuing difficulty with church-state conflicts.

The court ruled that a public

school district may not prevent a church group from using its classrooms after school hours simply because of the group's religious purpose. Although individual justices differed in their reasoning, the court unanimously found that a New York school district was wrong to turn away an evangelical Christian church that wanted to show a film series on child rearing.

A victory for both religious organizations and free speech advocates, the case was consistent with court rulings since 1981 allowing church groups public access.

Separately, however, the court, without comment, let stand an appeals court decision permitting prayer at a public school graduation. Just last year the court ruled unconstitutional prayers at a graduation ceremony in Providence, Rhode Island.

The National School Boards Association had asked the court to take the new case from a school district near Houston, because of confusion around the country this spring over whether graduation prayer is allowed.

The court's action further confounds the situation for schools

faced with aggressive and competing claims by the conservative American Center for Law and Justice, which encourages prayer at graduation ceremonies, and the American Civil Liberties Union, which opposes the practice.

Both the new ruling and the court's refusal to review the prayer decision underscore the difficulty the court has with balancing the

Constitution's mandates of religious freedom and separation of church and state.

A major case yet to be decided this term could more directly give justices an opportunity to clarify church-state doctrine. The case, *Zobrest v. Catalina Foothills School District*, involves a Arizona student who is deaf and was denied a sign-language interpreter because he wanted to attend a Catholic school.

The school-board conflict — in Lamb's Chapel v. Center Moriches Union Free School District — arose after a Long Island district turned down a church group's application to use facilities to show the film series. The district's policy stemmed from a New York state law that barred the use of school premises for religious purposes.

Justice Byron R. White, who will retire at the end of the term, wrote the majority opinion and, in a rare departure from his terse style, read part of it from the bench.

Justice White first stated that a policy that specifically excludes religious groups violates free-speech guarantees, because it effectively favors some viewpoints over others. He rejected the judgment of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 2nd Circuit that the school property was a limited public forum that could be open only for designated purposes.

He said that there would have been no violation of the constitutionally required separation of church and state, because the film would not have been shown during school hours, would not have been sponsored by the school and would have been open to the public.

Joining Justice White in his opinion were Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justices Harry A. Blackmun, John Paul Stevens, Sandra Day O'Connor and David H. Souter.

## DEATH NOTICE

MR. CONRAD JAY PALAIS  
born in New York City (USA)  
passed away on May 20th 1993  
at Le Chesnay (France)  
M.I.T. 1949  
Médaille du Travail Français  
Groupe Inter technique  
Membre du Club Bugatti-France


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Australia	0014-881-877	+ El Salvador	191	+ ∅ Netherlands	855-0777	✓ + South Africa	8 800-92-9800
+ Austria	022-805-84	+ Finland	0000-4-8294	∅ Nam	0000-121	Spain	900-50-1013
Bahamas	1-800-399-2711	+ France	19-1-0887	+ Bulgaria	800-0006	+ Sweden	808-108-811
+ Belgium	076-11-0894	+ + Germany	033-0003	+ Russia	19-1-0887	+ Switzerland	855-0777
Belize (Hotel)	555	+ Greece	008-800-471	+ ∅ Netherlands	06-1-822-818	∅ Nam	0089-14-1877
Belize (Pay phones)	4	+ Guatemala	195	New Zealand	000-999	✓ Thailand	001-898-13-877
≅ Bermuda	1-800-623-0877	+ Honduras	001-800-1212000	+ Nicaragua (Managua)	161	≅ Trinidad & Tobago	23
Bolivia	0000-3333	Hong Kong	000-877	Nicaragua	02-161	+ Turkey	95000-1-4777
Brazil	000-5016	+ ∅ Hungary	00-1-800-41-877	+ Norway	058-12-877	+ United Arab Emirates	890-1-0011
Canada (Phone Peak)	88-8-8	+ India	000-57	∅ Nam	118	United Kingdom	0080-89-0777
≅ Canada (Phone Peak)	2210	Indonesia	00-887-8	+ Paraguay	008-12-800	= U.S.A.	10333
Chile	001-1887	+ Israel	1-800-35-2801	+ Peru	195	= U.S. Virgin Islands	10333
+ China	100-13	+ ∅ Italy	171-82-2727	Philippines (ETP stations only)	105-01	+ Uruguay	000417
Colombia (Phone Peak)	900-55-877	+ Italy	172-177	Philippines (Philippines)	182-811	+ ∅ Venezuela	172-1877
Colombia (Spanish)	900-55-877	+ Japan	0039-131	+ Poland	0089-489-818	Venezuela-English	800-1111-1
+ Costa Rica	183	+ ∅ Japan	0084-55-877	+ Portugal	0082-1-877	Venezuela-Spanish	800-1111-0
+ Denmark	878-1877	+ ∅ Jamaica					



## STATESIDE / REVERSE

## ★ POLITICAL NOTES ★

## A New White House Briefer Steps to the Mike

WASHINGTON — The president's deputy chief of staff, Mark Gearan, became White House communications director Monday as part of a continuing reorganization of personnel. Mr. Gearan, 36, succeeded George Stephanopoulos, 32, who is moving into a new role as President Clinton's senior adviser.

Mr. Gearan will brief reporters, but not daily. White House officials said. The White House press secretary, Dee Dee Myers, will continue to handle the morning briefings, and Mr. Gearan will give some of the afternoon ones.

The new communications director had been executive director of the Democratic Governors' Association and the spokesman for the 1988 presidential campaign of Michael S. Dukakis. Mr. Gearan brings to the job good relations with reporters and existing communications staff members who are anxious about what their roles will be under the new presidential counselor, David Gergen.

White House officials had said earlier that they expected Mr. Gearan to take on a new role coordinating the White House's political, government and public outreach functions.

However, according to a White House official, the chief of staff Thomas F. (Mac) McLarty and Mr. Clinton "came to the conclusion that they wanted someone to run the department, to work on relationships with the press, get the operation running and continue to be involved on a senior level," and that other problems could be dealt with in other ways later.

(WFP)

## Half a World Away, Clinton's Rating Drops

TOKYO — President Clinton's popularity took another dip Monday, this time in Japan. A public opinion poll there showed his numbers plunging almost 20 percentage points. Mr. Clinton is now seen in a negative light by more than half of Japanese, according to the poll.

The survey, conducted in May by Nippon Research Center Ltd., showed that the 62 percent approval rating Mr. Clinton enjoyed in February had tumbled to 44 percent. His negative ratings, expressed in a poll of Japanese "not favorably impressed," went up to 51 percent, compared to 34 percent in February.

Mr. Clinton suffered most in the area of trade, where there has been discord between the Clinton administration and Japan.

(AFP)

## How Babying Helped a Clinton Measure Pass

WASHINGTON — Reports continue trickling in about the deals, threats and sweet-talking used by Clinton forces to corral a bare majority in the House of Representatives for his deficit-reduction plan. Vice President Al Gore went after Representative Calvin Dooley, Democrat of California, who was on the fence until he decided to vote yes at the 11th hour. Was he promised a new dam or courthouse? "No," a Dooley aide confided, "the Gore daughters sometimes babysit for the congressman," who lives near the vice president's residence in suburban Arlington, Virginia.

(LAT)

## Quote/Unquote

"I have no trouble with my enemies," President Warren G. Harding said in 1923, after the eruption of the Teapot Dome oil lease scandal involving two of his close friends and cabinet officers, "but my goddamn friends, they are the ones who keep me walking the floor nights."

(LAT)

## In Texas Debacle, How Big an Albatross Was Clinton?

By Richard L. Berke

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Has President Bill Clinton become such a political pariah that he drove hordes of Texans to the polls to overwhelmingly elect a Republican, Kay Bailey Hutchison, to the Senate?

Probably not. The Democratic incumbent, Senator Bob Krueger, had problems of his own, like being such a dreadful campaigner that his campaign produced television commercials extolling that fact. Besides, analysts warn against making too much of whether any president has "cut-throat" that significantly affect a local election for better or worse.

But Mr. Clinton's plunging popularity did not help matters. As Mrs. Hutchison's campaign was waged as much against Mr. Clinton as against Mr. Krueger. At every turn, Mrs. Hutchison, who is the Texas state treasurer, attacked the president's proposal for tax increases.

To the Republicans who call the election

a referendum on Mr. Clinton, the Democrats' response is hardly reassuring to the president: How could it be a referendum, they ask, when even Mr. Krueger started clear of Mr. Clinton and derided his proposed energy tax?

While it is debatable how much Mrs. Hutchison owes to Mr. Clinton, it is clear that the outcome is another big embarrassment for the president at a time when nothing seems to be going right for him.

Mrs. Hutchison's victory on Saturday marks the first time since the post-Civil War period that Republicans will hold both Texas Senate seats.

Though she entered the race as the heavy favorite, the degree of Mrs. Hutchison's rout was unexpected. She drew 1,153,700 votes, or 67.3 percent, to Krueger's 574,089 votes, or 32.7 percent.

Democrats close to Mr. Clinton were hard pressed to explain Mr. Krueger's resounding defeat — except to insist that Mr. Clinton had nothing to do with it. Robert Slagle, the Texas Democratic chairman,

was one of the few in his party to publicly suggest that the president bears some responsibility.

"It was a lot like trying to swim with a battleship and a strap on your back," he said of Mr. Clinton's shadow over Mr. Krueger.

After a protracted search during which everyone seemed to turn down the job, Governor Ann Richards, whose political reputation also was damaged by the election's outcome, picked Mr. Krueger to replace Lloyd Bentsen after he was appointed Treasury secretary. Little did she know that the woman who will serve the remaining 18 months of what was Mr. Bentsen's term will now devote herself to opposing the economic package that he helped create.

"I am going to make sure that I sign on for everything I can do to kill the taxes in the Clinton economic program," Mrs. Hutchison said Sunday. "That will be my first order of business."

Short of not pulling Mr. Bentsen out of the Senate in the first place, Mr. Clinton's advisers said there was little they could have done to keep the seat Democratic. They said Mr. Clinton had not played any direct role in urging Governor Richards to pick Mr. Krueger, and that there was a paucity of obvious formidable candidates.

Although Paul Begala, an adviser to Mr. Clinton, traveled to Texas to help the faltering Krueger campaign, neither he nor anyone at the White House made an all-out effort to help.

White House officials said they viewed Mr. Krueger as a loser early on. And, from the start, they said Mr. Clinton's influence was limited because he was never widely popular in Texas. In last year's elections, President George Bush won his adopted home state with 40 percent, followed by Mr. Clinton with 37 percent and Ross Perot with 22 percent.

Only two years ago, Democrats were gloating that the upset victory of Senator Harris Wofford, a Pennsylvania Democrat,

over former Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh was evidence of a public outcry against Mr. Bush. Mr. Wofford seized on domestic issues like health care and relentlessly attacked Mr. Bush as out of touch, issues that Mr. Clinton used successfully in last year's election.

James Carville, an adviser to Mr. Clinton who orchestrated the Wofford campaign, disputed the idea that there were similarities between the two races, insisting that the notion of a president influencing a local election was overblown. Referring to Mr. Wofford's race, he said, "I don't think I ever said it was a referendum on Bush."

While he disagreed that the Texas results could be a "wake up call" to Mr. Clinton to change his policies, Mr. Carville could not offer an overriding reason for the outcome except that Mr. Krueger was a poor campaigner.

"There's no way I could see the president embarrassed by this," he said. "But he's probably disappointed."



MEMORIAL FOR A KENNEDY — Senator Edward M. Kennedy, left, with the Clintons and Ethel Kennedy, at a memorial Mass in Arlington National Cemetery in honor of her husband, Robert F. Kennedy, on the 25th anniversary of his assassination on June 6, 1968.

## U.S. Investigates Report That Officer Mocked President

By John Lancaster

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — A two-star U.S. Air Force general is being investigated on charges that he ridiculed President Bill Clinton as a "gay-loving," "pot-smoking," "draft-dodging" and "womanizing" commander in chief at a banquet for U.S. Air Force personnel in the Netherlands.

The officer, Major General Harold N. Campbell, has been accused of making the derogatory remarks during a speech he gave to 250 people at a May 24 awards ceremony for air force maintenance workers stationed at Soesterberg Air Base in the Netherlands, air force officials said Monday in response to an inquiry.

Over the weekend, a three-star air force general arrived in Europe to investigate the allegations, which if true could constitute a violation

of military law prohibiting "contemptuous" comments by officers about their civilian leadership.

More broadly, the case could prove embarrassing to military leaders and to the Clinton administration by spotlighting once again the strong undercurrent of suspicion and even hostility that exists in the military community toward the president.

Despite efforts on both sides to improve relations, many officers and enlisted men and women harbor strong reservations about Mr. Clinton's background as an anti-war protester, his program of defense cuts and his hugely unpopular efforts to lift the ban on homosexuals in uniform.

"I don't care if he's a Democrat or a Republican, once he's in, he's incredibly stupid," the officer said.

General Campbell, 53, is a former fighter pilot who served two combat tours in Vietnam and has won numerous medals and commendations, including a Silver Star for gallantry.

Captain Charles Porter, who returned a phone message left at General Campbell's office Monday, said the general was "unavailable for comment."

General Campbell had traveled to the Netherlands to speak at an awards ceremony honoring the "maintenance professional of the year" at Soesterberg, according to Captain Terry Bowman, a spokesman for the 32d fighter group, which is based there.

The banquet proceedings went unrecorded, and Captain Bowman said, "We simply don't have a transcript of what was said."

However, several air force officers familiar with accounts of the evening said General Campbell apparently opened his speech by saying, "I usually begin with a joke, but there's nothing to joke about" given the current occupant of the White House.

General Campbell apparently went on to ridicule the president for "draft-dodging," "pot-smoking" and "womanizing," a senior officer said. The officer, who requested anonymity, said General Campbell also was reported to have described the president as "gay-loving."

## With Communism Dead, the Elite Cold War Thinkers Falter on Goals

By Lawrence Malkin

International Herald Tribune

HARRIMAN, New York — Perched on its private mountain north of New York City sits Arden House, once the country home of the railroad magnate E. W. Harriman, whose son, W. Averell Harriman, decided it as a retreat for the American Establishment during its Cold War ascendancy in 1951. Less anyone doubt the endurance of that Establishment, Averell Harriman's widow was installed as ambassador to France last month.

But over the weekend, Arden House was besieged by uncertainty and doubt. Some of the "best and brightest," who for 40 years followed the fixed star of anti-communism, gathered for the 83d meeting of the American Assembly. The subject was "Public Engagement in Foreign Policy After the Cold War."

After hours of carefully structured discussion, they came to the sobering conclusion that it will be much more difficult than anyone had thought for the United States to shift its attention from foreign

affairs to domestic policy because the distinction had been blurred almost beyond recognition.

Once haughtily independent of the public's domestic concerns, the participants conceded that they could no longer impose policy from the top down but had to play much closer attention to the hurly-burly of global economic competition.

The government now must arbitrate noisy

claims of citizen groups ranging from passionate advocates of human rights to the manufacturers of computer chips, big labor unions and even state governments in the Far West that are making their own Pacific Rim trade connections without reference to Washington.

By contrast, they noted, an anachronistic distinction between foreign and domestic concerns still "dominates virtually all our institutions, habits and practices."

Take the argument over the North American Free Trade Agreement. Where do people's fears

over losing their jobs to cheap Mexican labor end and where does immigration policy and the relocation of multinational companies south of the border begin?

The same overlapping domestic and foreign questions of reciprocal benefit can be slightly reshaped on trade and investment in Japan.

Then there are the interactions between energy taxes, dependence on foreign oil and global warming that affect questions ranging from the quality of the environment to peace in the Middle East.

Even Bosnia, supposedly a quintessential foreign policy problem for the experts, is no more immune from the instant visual and emotional stimulus of what the conferees dubbed "the CNN factor" than starvation in Somalia.

The befuddlement of elites over how to handle such questions helps explain the Clinton administration's uncertain and uncoordinated signals on such grave matters as trade, security and human rights.

During the Cold War, the American elite never doubted the nation's security priorities. Access to

the American market or disregard for human rights would be traded for security considerations in Cold War outposts from Japan to Johannesburg. But the country can no longer afford that and single-issue groups ally with each other to prevent it.

That leaves all foreign policy groups similarly adrift, remarked Alton Frye, the Washington director of the Council on Foreign Relations, who observed the proceedings here. "We have no problem in dealing with specific issues like aid to the former Soviet Union," he said. "We have no shortage of experts. But when they need direction and goals, it is not there."

The Assembly picks its participants from a pool of public-spirited businessmen, professors, pundits and present and former public officials. They speak frankly to each other, but not for quotation. Their concluding statement was being distributed on Monday.

Among this weekend's signers were Admiral Bobby R. Inman, former director of the National Security Agency and deputy director of central

intelligence; Daniel Yankelovich, the poll-taker; Douglas C. Worth, IBM's Washington vice president; and Donald F. McHenry, former chief delegate to the United Nations.

Mr. McHenry presented a paper, "Consensus Won't Come Easy, or Soon." This, he concluded in part, is because power had devolved from the State Department to domestic departments that are concerned with commercial interest groups and are far more responsive to congressional pressures.

David Gergen, a trustee, produced a paper calling for "a clear, concise framework for foreign policy" and "serious salesmanship" by President Bill Clinton. But the president's new counselor

was engaged in Washington on just such matters. Bowing to the inevitable, the Assembly urged Congress to streamline its procedures. And it urged Mr. Clinton to use his talents as a performer to stimulate, referee and focus public debate rather than trying to figure out a new policy in private, which makes the creation of the postwar world order by Washington's wise men under President Harry S. Truman seem like a weekend in the country in comparison to what faces Mr. Clinton.

## Away From Politics

Two men and a woman were killed and three people were wounded at a grocery store in Windsor, North Carolina, in what the police said appeared to have been a robbery.

Confronting a severe drop in industrial jobs, New Jersey is preparing to weaken environmental cleanup rules for land intended for industrial or commercial use. Although environmentalists are worried that the plan will set a bad precedent, urban planners are applauding it, saying it would address a problem that exists elsewhere in the United States: urban land lying fallow, in part because of the costs of cleaning up pollution.

Three people were killed when their fishing boat collided head-on with a 26-foot (eight-meter) cabin cruiser in the dark on Lake Wylie in Charlotte, North Carolina. Three people were hurt.

The discovery of a sixth patient infected with the AIDS virus by a Florida dentist is leading more investigators to suspect that the dentist, David Acer, transmitted the disease intentionally before he died. The Miami Herald reported.

A Wisconsin tax appeals commissioner has ordered the state to refund an estimated \$105 million in state income taxes and interest to about 23,500 federal government retirees. The commissioner said the state had discriminated against the federal retirees because many state and local government retirees had a tax exemption for pension income.

A three-year, churchwide study on homosexuality was recommended by the Committee on Human Sexuality of the Presbyterian Church's 205th General Assembly in Orlando, Florida. The panel voted, 32 to 3, to recommend the study in response to requests from regional church bodies that want the church to either strengthen or relax its ban on homosexual clergy.

AP, NYT, UPI

## Light at the End of the Carpal Tunnel

By Sabra Chantrand

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Carpal tunnel syndrome can be painful and debilitating — and it has become an increasingly common work-related injury. It is among the most serious of the repetitive stress injuries that can result from continuous wrist and hand motions, like typing all day on a computer.

These movements can cause a ligament to thicken and press on the nerve and tendons running through the carpal tunnel, a cluster of bones in the wrist and palm. The result can be pain, numbness and weakness in the fingers, hands and wrists.

Repetitive stress injury, or RSI, cost American businesses \$20 billion in 1992, an eightfold increase from 1982, according to the Department of Labor. In 1991, approximately 331,000 people needed wrist sprains, approximately 331,000 people needed wrist sprains, approximately 331,000 people needed wrist sprains, approximately 331,000 people needed wrist sprains.

About 100,000 people also underwent surgery to cut the ligament and relieve pressure on the nerve. But that left some patients with a loss of hand strength. Now an orthopedic surgeon in New Jersey has patent-

ed a procedure to alleviate the problems without cutting the ligament. Instead, he simply stretches it.

"This is similar to the balloon angioplasty done for the heart," said Dr. J. Lee Berger, referring to how a balloon catheter can be used to clear blocked arteries.

Dr. Berger has performed his carpal tunnel procedure on 25 patients at St. Joseph's Hospital and Medical Center in Paterson, New Jersey, since 1990.

"I just make a quarter-inch incision in the base of the palm, go under the ligament with the balloon, inflate the balloon, stretch the ligament and free the nerve," he said.

"Once you stretch the ligament a certain amount, it doesn't come back," he said, meaning that the ligament should not resume pressing on the nerve.

So far, Dr. Berger said, all his patients have returned to work, and to the same repetitive tasks, without any trouble. He admitted, however, that his experience is limited to a small group.

"But once we do this procedure, it doesn't burn any bridges if the condition does come back," he said. "We can do it again, or go the traditional way and cut the ligament."

## Conway Twitty, 59, C&amp;W Balladeer, Dies

New York Times Service

Conway Twitty, 59, the country and western singer who brought a rich, throaty tone to dozens of country ballads over four decades in the music business, died Saturday in Springfield, Missouri.

The cause of death was a ruptured blood vessel in his stomach, hospital officials at Cox Medical Center said. Mr. Twitty collapsed Friday night on his tour bus after a performance in nearby Branson, Missouri, a country and western music town.

Mr. Twitty began as a rock-and-roll singer in the 1950s, and his song "Lonely Blue Boy" went gold. His biggest hit, "It's Only Make Believe," hit the top of the pop charts in 1958.

Eventually, Mr. Twitty had more than 50 No. 1 songs on the country charts. He specialized in ballads of lost love, with "Tight Fittin' Jeans," "Hello Darlin'," and "After All the Good is Gone" among his biggest hits.

In the early 1970s, Mr. Twitty had a string of successful duets with Loretta Lynn, including "Louisiana Woman, Mississippi Man" and "After the Fire is Gone," for which they won a Grammy in 1971. Since crossing over to country and western, he had released an average of one album every eight months.

"Conway Twitty records are immediately recognizable," Robert Palmer of The New York Times wrote in 1977. "The singer has one of the richest male voices in the country idiom, and his bluesy colorations, especially a kind of throaty purr, are distinctive."

Mr. Twitty once said, "I like a song that says things a man wants to say and doesn't know how to say it."

Mr. Twitty's real name was Harold Jenkins. He was working over a map one day and noticed the towns of Conway, Arkansas, and Twitty, Texas, and made up his stage name.

James Bridges, 77, a writer-director whose films included "The China Syndrome," "The Paper Chase" and "Urban Cowboy," died of cancer Sunday at the University of California, Los Angeles, Medical Center.

Yona Efrati, 67, the army general who was one of three commissioners who ruled on Israeli responsibility for the 1982 massacres at the Sabra and Chatila refugee camps in Lebanon, died of cancer, the army said Sunday.

W. McNeil Lowry, 80, a former vice president of the Ford Foundation who made that institution a major supporter of the arts, died of cancer of the esophagus Sunday in New York.

Philip E. Hoffman, 84, a lawyer who was a former U.S. representative to the United Nations Human Rights Commission and a former national president of the American Jewish Committee, died of cancer Sunday in Livingston, New Jersey.

Judge Livingston D. Parker, 77, of the Federal District Court in Washington, who presided over the trial of John W. Hinckley Jr., the would-be presidential assassin, and in other major cases, died Wednesday in Washington. He had a heart attack and stroke in 1989.

Jonathan Edley, 91, a former

New York newspaperman who helped found the American Newspaper Guild in 1933, died Wednesday in Houston.

Robert J. Klein, 66, a founding editor of Money magazine and a consumer advocate, died of cancer Thursday in Manhattan.

Bob Fitzsimmons, 53, a New York radio and television host known for his wry interviews with celebrity guests, died Wednesday in Manhattan.

General Campbell had traveled to the Netherlands to speak at an awards ceremony honoring the "maintenance professional of the year" at Soesterberg, according to Captain Terry Bowman, a spokesman for the 32d fighter group, which is based there.

The banquet proceedings went unrecorded, and Captain Bowman said, "We simply don't have a transcript of what was said."

However, several air force officers familiar with accounts of the evening said General Campbell apparently opened his speech by saying, "I usually begin with a joke, but there's nothing to joke about" given the current occupant of the White House.

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# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## Center of the White House

It is now impossible to read or listen to commentary on the state of the Clinton administration without encountering talk of the president's determination to "move to the center" or "be more of a moderate." The assumption underlying all this seems to be that Bill Clinton is in trouble because he has been "too liberal" or "too far outside the mainstream" or in some other unacceptable place. In our view, an ideological framework explains less about the president's woes than do his problems with organization, staffing and decision-making.

We cannot, for example, figure out what is "left-wing" or "right-wing" (or, for that matter, "centrist") about the fiasco in the White House travel office or the sloppy staff work that went into the Clinton appointment or the presidentially sanctified chaos and obstruction that are the White House personnel offices.

So far as this vaunted "moderation" is concerned, there are at least a couple of definitions. A "moderate" can be seen as reasonable, thoughtful, open — the opposite of fanatical; or as inconstant, timid, weak — the opposite of principled. In his campaign, Mr. Clinton cleaved to what looked like the first definition. He was willing to address issues that many Democrats had been afraid of. It was essential, he said, for friends of government activism to shake up inefficient bureaucracies and find new ways to deliver government services; wanting to reform government was different from wanting to destroy it. Welfare reform, he insisted, was not about stigmatizing the poor but about helping them lift themselves

from dependency. It is possible, he said, to be socially compassionate but still encourage virtues like personal responsibility.

If "moving to the center" means a new engagement with these themes, then Mr. Clinton is seeking the right road. If, on the other hand, centrism turns out to be a flight from controversy and a quest for lowest-common-denominator compromise, then it will serve Mr. Clinton badly and reinforce an image that he should be fighting: that of a president too easily rolled.

For all his troubles, one of Mr. Clinton's legitimate points of honor has been his willingness to acknowledge the need for higher taxes to reduce the deficit and finance some modest new social programs. A certain amount of trading — some new spending cuts in exchange for a somewhat smaller tax increase — may be essential for securing final agreement on a budget. That is a normal part of the legislative process. But Mr. Clinton should not give up on his energy tax, nor should he consent to its being gutted on behalf of every special interest with a claim on a few senators. And Mr. Clinton needs to fight if further cuts are aimed at programs for the very poorest Americans.

What the president clearly does not need right now is anything that looks gimmicky or panicky or simply rhetorical. More than a move to the center, he needs to be centered himself — confident about where he wants to go, deliberate about getting there, and disciplined in reorganizing the White House so that he can avoid further self-inflicted wounds.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Fund-Raising Follies

Two weeks ago, embarrassed White House officials canceled a breakfast with President Bill Clinton that the Democratic National Committee had organized for lobbyists and other fat cat contributors. Now they have pulled the plug on the committee's plan to establish a private foundation to help sell Mr. Clinton's health care program. But other aspects of the national committee's dubious scheme are proceeding apace, making one wonder whether Mr. Clinton's political friends were paying attention when he promised to run the special interests out of town.

The committee dissolved the foundation after a report last week in The Washington Post. Started with about \$100,000 in committee "seed money," the foundation had already begun to solicit money from corporations — some in the health care field — labor unions and rich individuals. It planned to apply for tax-exempt status as a nonprofit lobbying group. That would have permitted it to shield the donors' names and the size of their gifts.

A committee spokesman said that the party chairman, David Wilhelm, dropped the idea because questions had been raised about whether the foundation, given its origin, could be truly bipartisan. But the White House, still reeling from charges of incompetence and cronyism, had a more basic concern: At precisely the moment

when Mr. Clinton is asking Congress to pass a campaign financing bill closing the "soft money" loophole for wealthy favor-seekers, along comes the Democratic National Committee with a new way for some of these same folks to buy influence.

The foundation is dead. The drive to raise \$35 million to sell health care reform will go forward under the frankly partisan auspices of the national committee. But ethical problems remain.

For example, the committee does not rule out putting the touch on big players in the health care industry, including, presumably, some of the insurance and drug companies that the administration has blamed for spiraling medical costs. The rules that govern party fund raising require that donors be disclosed. Even so, the idea of inviting the industries most likely to be affected by the health care proposal to buy into the political side of the White House could taint any effort to sell the reform plan as evenhanded. Is that really a risk that Bill Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton want to take?

Other presidents have managed to campaign for their programs using the formidable weapons already at the chief executive's disposal. Even in its revised form, the Democratic National Committee's plan creates new opportunities for political abuse. President Clinton doesn't need it.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Rating Video Violence

One of America's largest makers of electronic games, Sega, has decided voluntarily to rate its videos in much the same way the motion picture industry rates movies. The ratings are intended to help consumers know a little more about what is in that package — whether it is decent for young players or not. Many of the most popular games not only contain graphic imagery, they require "violent" responses from the participants.

The labels are helpful and informative, even if they do cause sales of the most outrageous games to increase, as some contend. Violence unfortunately sells — ask any network programmer. But it also repels parents and others who do not want children exposed to gratuitous acts on screen, whether a video screen or a television screen. As the violence quotient rises in the entertainment media — and it has risen, according to advocacy groups that actually monitor incidents on video and television — the public's tolerance quotient declines. Public opinion indicates that most Americans are increasingly uneasy about violence on television.

Congress is expressing its concern, as it does in cycles. The first hearings on media violence were led by Estes Kefauver in the mid-1950s. Now Senator Paul Simon, Democrat of Illinois, is leading the charge. His

TV Violence Act of 1990, which waives certain antitrust provisions, finally led the three major networks to agree last year on some broad standards ("Depictions of violence should be relevant and necessary..."). It is too early to tell how this common "code of conduct" will affect programming. Meanwhile, others in Congress threaten to curb television violence by other means.

There is no need to step on the First Amendment and free speech. The industry should issue more viewer advisories, warnings and rating systems. The networks must use more restraint during family viewing hours, and more television stations could document their efforts to curb programming that many find offensive. Television and cable guides and newspapers can provide more information about content. The primary concern, a legitimate one, is about the effect of violence on children, many of whom spend hour upon hour in front of the television set without adult guidance.

The violence approaches indecency, which is already regulated by the Federal Communications Commission. Unless the industry exercises a bit more self-censorship and a little more sense, it risks further government intervention.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Other Comment

### Pay the Cambodian Soldiers

War remains a fearsome possibility, since Cambodia remains a country with too many soldiers, bearing too many guns. Although all the factions agreed to disarm and demobilize their armies when they met in Paris in 1991 to sign the peace agreement that paved the way to last month's election, they have not honored their word. That UNTAC, the UN authority in Cambodia, has been unable to make them do so is its only serious failure so far. It now has to deal with the consequences.

The army is waiting to see who is most likely to meet its wage bill. Many soldiers have not been paid for months. UNTAC's idea is to bid for the 100,000 soldiers' loyalty

by paying their wages. This proposal is meeting some resistance at the UN's headquarters in New York. The fear is, first, that paying a national army would create an awkward precedent, and, second, that it would cost \$5 million to \$7 million a month.

Precedents can be dangerous, but so is the future that Cambodia faces. Refusing to pay the army's wages risks consigning Cambodia to renewed civil war. Once a constitution is enacted and a legitimate government established, UNTAC's job will be done. For Japan, which has taken the lead in the Cambodian operation, one more act of generosity might ensure the success of its most ambitious postwar venture into international affairs. The money must be found.

—THE ECONOMIST (London).

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## When Aid Becomes a Substitute for Policy

By Urs Boegli

The writer is operations coordinator of the International Committee of the Red Cross for former Yugoslavia. The views expressed are personal and do not represent the position of the ICRC.

ZAGREB, Croatia — The war in Bosnia is forcing the International Committee of the Red Cross to re-examine itself as never before in its 130-year history. Humanitarian organizations feel that a new approach is badly needed after 14 months of conflict in which international law, and especially the Geneva conventions governing the conduct of war, have been blatantly violated.

Something has gone very wrong when the international community narrows its choices to arguments for and against military intervention — and then flinches.

Humanitarian organizations also have been caught off guard. For months neither they nor governments wanted to admit that the real stakes in the Bosnian war are not physical assets as easy

Relief workers are being asked to throw wheat flour at political problems.

to grasp as Kuwait's oil fields but the very population of Bosnia itself.

Officially, humanitarian organizations sought to prevent "ethnic cleansing," the forced transfer of populations, in the name of protecting the individual's right to remain at home as a matter of choice. Governments actively contributed to the opulent humanitarian aid approach as a matter of principle and expediency; they were determined to stem the alarming flow of refugees leaving Bosnia and seeking asylum abroad. Humanitarian aid was meant to help people survive until somehow the nightmare they were experiencing ended.

Now we are forced to admit that we all have failed — and created a dangerous precedent. The nightmare is still there, and spreading.

"Ethnic cleansing" was first practiced by Bosnian Serbs. More recently, Bosnian Croats copied them. The Muslims show signs of following suit.

The very civilian population that humanitarian aid sought to protect and protect now wants to leave home. In most cases, this population would eagerly agree to massive population transfers inside Bosnia along ethnic lines if only the roads were open and Bosnians were free to travel.

Like it or not, this war seems likely to end with Bosnians separated into their respective communities in this new form of apartheid. If people no longer want to or are unable to live with each other, humanitarian organizations must learn to deal with that reality no matter how repugnant. Every day in the ICRC office in Banja Luka, Bosnian Croats and Muslims beg our staff to help them leave the Serbian-run city. Bosnians are exhausting hard currency savings to bribe themselves out of Serbian-held areas.

Every night hundreds of trapped Sarajevo residents brave bullets and shells — and detention by UN troops guarding the airport — scuttling across the runway to freedom.

What has gone wrong? Throughout the Bosnian conflict, humanitarian organizations have been used to fill a political vacuum left by the world community. Relief workers are being asked to throw wheat flour at political problems.

Absent agreed policy, the international community, and more especially Western governments, have reacted in large part because of public indignation magnified by television footage of the suffering. Airlifts to Sarajevo and truck convoys all over Bosnia protected by UN troops created the illusion of helping — and indeed have helped. But they have not solved the problem. Far from it.

Part of the problem lies in the end of the Cold

War. Damage control was easier then. Traditional tools of discreet diplomacy could be brought to bear in Washington, London or Paris to persuade their Third World clients to allow the ICRC to fulfill its mission. The Kremlin began playing by these rules under Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union's final years.

But in the era of what seemingly only yesterday was being hailed as the new world order, the conflict in former Yugoslavia has shown the international community unwilling or unable to formulate, much less carry out, a coherent policy.

Humanitarian organizations should be part of an overall response, not a substitute for political policy. Governments should stop hijacking humanitarian organizations for their own purposes. Governments and humanitarian organizations should start asking themselves tough questions and then try to work out new approaches together.

In this post-Cold War period, have governments, especially those of the great powers, lost moral direction and a willingness for sacrifice, preferring ostrich-like to believe that their own material well-being will continue indefinitely unthreatened by the looming chaos that this conflict risks unleashing elsewhere, especially in Eastern Europe and what was the Soviet Union with its all too similar patchwork of jostling irredentist minorities?

For the alternative is not just more killing in Bosnia, as terrifying as that may be not just for the Bosnian victims and for the international community and humanitarian organizations whose reputations are also being sullied.

With overextended front lines, are Bosnia's Serbs and Croats sure they can hang onto their war gains painlessly? Perhaps. Even so, the international community risks emerging from Bosnia scarred and dishonored. It risks being challenged by megalomaniacs who, sooner than anyone wants to contemplate, may be backed by nuclear weapons rather than mere artillery.

The Washington Post.

## Now Watch the Fault Lines Between Civilizations

By Samuel P. Huntington

NEW YORK — World politics is entering a new phase in which the fundamental source of conflict will be neither ideological nor economic. The clash of civilizations will dominate.

Civilizations obviously blend and overlap and may include subcivilizations. Western civilization has two major variants, European and North American, and Islam has its Arab, Turkic and Malay subdivisions. While the lines between them are seldom sharp, civilizations are real. They rise and fall; they divide and merge. And, as any student of history knows, civilizations disappear.

Westerners tend to think of nation-states as the principal actors in global affairs. They have been that for only a few centuries. The broader reaches of history have been the history of civilizations. It is to this pattern that the world returns.

Civilization identity will be increasingly important and the world will be shaped in large measure by the interactions among seven or eight major civilizations. These include the Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and possibly African civilizations. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.

Why? Differences among civilizations are basic, involving history, language, culture, tradition and, most importantly, religion. Different civilizations have different views on the relations between God and man, the citizen and the state, parents and children, liberty and authority, equality and hierarchy. These differences are the product of centuries. They will not soon disappear.

The world is becoming smaller. Interactions between peoples of different civilizations are increasing. They intensify civilization consciousness. Economic and social changes are separating people from long-standing local identities. In much of the world, religion has moved in to fill this gap, often in the form of movements labeled fundamentalist — in Western Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam. The "unsecularization of the world," George Weigel has remarked, is a fact of life in the late 20th century.

And a return-to-the-roots phenomenon is occurring among non-Western civilizations. This includes "Asianization" in Japan, the end of the Nehru legacy and the "Hindutization" of India, the failure of Western ideas of socialism and nationalism and, hence, the "re-Islamization" of the Middle East, and a Russian debate over Westernization.

More importantly, the efforts of the West to promote its values of democracy and liberalism as universal values, to maintain its military predominance and to advance its economic interests engender

counter responses from other civilizations. The central axis of world politics is likely to be the conflict between "the West and the rest," and the responses of non-Western civilizations to Western power and values. The most prominent example of anti-Western cooperation is the connection between Confucian and Islamic states that are challenging Western values and power.

In the former Soviet Union, Communists can become democrats, the rich can become poor and the poor rich, but Russians cannot become Estonians. A person can be half-French and half-Arab and even a citizen of two countries. It is more difficult to be half-Catholic and half-Muslim.

Finally, successful economic regionalism will

In the short term, it is clearly in the interest of the West to promote greater cooperation and unity in its own civilization.

reinforce civilization consciousness. On the other hand, economic regionalism may succeed only when it is rooted in a common civilization. The European Community rests on the shared foundation of European culture and Western Christianity. Japan, in contrast, faces difficulties in creating a comparable economic entity in East Asia because it is a civilization unique to itself.

As the ideological division of Europe has disappeared, the cultural division of Europe between Western Christianity and Orthodox Christianity and Islam has re-emerged. Conflict along the fault line between Western and Islamic civilizations has been going on for 1,300 years. This centuries-old military interaction is unlikely to decline.

On the northern border of Islam, conflict has increasingly erupted between Orthodox and Muslim peoples. This includes the carnage of Bosnia and Sarajevo, the simmering violence between Serb and Albanian, the tenuous relations between Bulgarians and their Turkish minority, the violence between Ossetians and Ingush, the unremitting slaughter of each other by Armenians and Azerbaijanis and the tense relations between Russians and Muslims in Central Asia.

The historic clash between Muslim and Hindu manifests itself not only in the rivalry between

Pakistan and India but also in intensifying religious strife in India between increasingly militant Hindu groups and the substantial Muslim minority.

Groups or states belonging to one civilization that become involved in war with people from a different civilization usually try to rally support from other members of their own civilization.

In the coming years, the local conflicts most likely to escalate into major wars will be those, as in Bosnia and the Caucasus, along the fault lines between civilizations. The next world war, if there is one, will be a war between civilizations.

If these hypotheses are plausible, it is necessary to consider their implications for Western policy. These implications should be divided between short-term advantage and long-term accommodation.

In the short term, it is clearly in the interest of the West to promote greater cooperation and unity in its own civilization, particularly between its European and North American components; to incorporate into the West those societies in Eastern Europe and Latin America whose cultures are close to those of the West; to maintain close relations with Russia and Japan; to support in other civilizations groups sympathetic to Western values and interests; and to strengthen international institutions that reflect and legitimate Western interests and values.

The West must also limit the expansion of the military strength of potentially hostile civilizations, principally Confucian and Islamic civilizations, and exploit differences and conflicts among Confucian and Islamic states. This will require a moderation in the reduction of Western military capabilities, and in particular the maintenance of American military superiority in East and Southwest Asia.

In the longer term, other measures would be called for. The West will increasingly have to accommodate to non-Western modern civilizations whose power approaches that of the West but whose values and interests differ significantly from those of the West. This will require the West to develop a much more profound understanding of the basic religious and philosophical assumptions underlying other civilizations and the ways in which people in those civilizations see their interests. It will require an effort to identify elements of commonality among Western and other civilizations.

For the relevant future, there will be no universal civilization but instead a world of different civilizations, each having to learn to coexist with others.

The writer is professor of government and director of the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard University. This comment was adapted by The New York Times from the summer issue of Foreign Affairs.

## Why the Rise in the Cost of Health Care Is Healthy

By Daniel Patrick Moynihan

The writer, a Democrat from New York, is chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. This is the second of two articles.

WASHINGTON — Start at the beginning. How many hours are required to produce one weekend of baby-sitting for a 2-year-old grandchild? Answer, making allowance for the fact that the baby sits 80 hours per unit of production. (Details on request.) It was the same a century ago and will be the same a century hence.

Same story in kindergarten, high school, college classes. Same size as a century ago. Graduate seminars: one professor, nine students. In the meantime, productivity in the manufacture of durable goods, for example, grows (1979-90) at 2.8 percent, doubling in 25 years.

One of the discoveries of William J. Baumol of New York University is the persistence in the patterns of differences in productivity growth between economic sectors. In his Philadelphia Society paper he writes:

"A given sector of the economy does not usually fluctuate haphazardly between periods of relatively slow and relatively rapid advance in productivity. Rather, the industries in which productivity was expanding slowly a century ago are, by and large, the very ones that are still the laggards of today."

The fact that productivity continues to stagnate in those industries has imposed on them a price history that is the fundamental symptom of the cost disease of personal services. This cost disease phenomenon occurs when the services... are plagued by cumulative and persistent rises in their costs, increases that normally exceed significantly the corresponding rate of increase for commodities generally, i.e., almost always outstrip the economy's rate of inflation.

"The services in question, which I call The Stagnant Services, included, most notably, health care, education, legal services, welfare programs for the poor, postal service, police protection, sanitation services, repair services, the performing arts, restaurant services and a number of others which will soon suggest themselves."

The element that characterizes them all is the handicraft attribute of their supply process. Notice anything? Education, welfare, police, sanitation. All these are public sector activities, or mostly so. Is this immutably the case? Not that long ago, all of the above were in the private sector.

Let me offer, then, a subtitle to Baumol. Activities with cost diseases migrate to the public sector, much as in olden times persons with polio made their way to Warm Springs or Saratoga. But mineral water does not cure polio, and the public sector does not cure Baumol's disease. It simply makes it more conspicuous. Hence America's quarter-century turmoil over the cost of government and, now, the size of the deficit.

The great migration in America's case took place during the Johnson-Nixon years, roughly 1964 to 1972. Look back at Mr. Baumol's list. Almost every item can be matched up with a Great Society or New Federalism initiative.

Medicare, Head Start, Legal Services, Child Nutrition, Safe Streets, Clean Water, the National Endowment for the Arts. From modest beginnings great expenditures grew, and conservatives got alarmed.

In the early Reagan years, a budget crisis was deliberately allowed to develop in the expectation that these costs would cut back. In David Stockman's account, once a \$100 billion deficit appeared "we would have the... drawn politicians pined to the wall. They would have to dismantle... blotted, wasteful and unjust spending enterprises... or risk national ruin." He had made "fiscal necessity the mother of political invention."

Well, not quite. The cuts never came, and in place of tax-and-spend we got borrow-and-spend. The problem was not craven politicians but cost disease. In no time America was

about in the middle of the countries that make up the OECD, costs will double in the next 10 years. So don't promise otherwise. Don't.

And don't get cute with price controls. They can only work by reducing quality.

Rising costs of health care are natural and in one sense welcome in that they are accompanied by better health. Market disciplines can keep the rises from becoming lunatic.

Mr. Baumol's message is profoundly hopeful, much as was Keynes's. As long as productivity is growing in the economy as a whole, it makes no matter that it lags in some sectors. The great educational task, as he writes, is "getting the public to recognize the difference between the reality and the illusion in the behavior of costs."

The Washington Post.

## IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1893: Zola's Locomotion

PARIS — A striking feature of social life at present is the popularity of the bicycle both as a means of locomotion and as amusement. It is used by members of both sexes, of all classes of society and of all professions. Even M. Emile Zola, who lives like a philosopher, exclusively for the development of his own individuality by means of unceasing literary labor, has submitted to the demands of the time and takes his exercise on a bicycle.

### 1918: Chaplain's Task

PARIS — Jim Goodheart is here and wants to know you. He is probably already known by name to at least half of the American army over here. His designation is Chaplain of Denver but his mission here is not primarily religious. He simply wants to do what he can to make it harder for the boys in the field to do wrong. He is doing this without any cant and without preaching morals. There is no

## If Europe Manages A Rebound

By William Safire

PARIS — Europe is entering the third millennium the same way it entered the second — with the Christians kicking the Muslims out. Many civilized Europeans are troubled by their New Barbarism.

They are embarrassed at the way Turkish workers, denied citizenship, are being harassed in a Germany still arrogant about ethnic purity.

They are ashamed of their craven solution to the Balkan war — with Bosnian Muslims being herded into refugee camps, where hundreds will fester and vengeance will be vowed.

That is one reason for the gloom pervading this continent. A more piteous reason is that business is lousy. The unexpected price of German unity led to the abatement of high interest rates, which has aborted recovery.

On top of all that, the utopian promise of 1993 — political as well as economic integration, creating global competition for the Asian and American markets — has been dashed by the reality of nationalism.

No wonder Europeans are saving their leaders. In France, Francois Mitterrand is on his last legs. In Britain, John Major has sunk lower in the polls than any prime minister since polling began; in Germany, Helmut Kohl ducks Muslim funerals to appeal to his resentful right; Italian politicians by the score have been charged with being in the pockets of the Mafia. By the 1995 Group of Seven meeting, Bill Clinton may be the veteran among rookies.

At such a low point, the poet Milton comes to mind: "Hence, loathed Melancholy! (Modern poets would render that as "Gedon'there, Gloom!") Consider all that Europe's nations have going for them.

Hard times are doing what hard times are supposed to do: force an end to business inefficiency long encouraged by government-protected featherbedding. In post-Socialist France, 20 of the biggest companies — including Air France and Renault — will be privatized, and despite the anguish of managers being fired the slimmed-down companies will be competitive. Complacent German automakers, too, have been awakened to the real world.

On Europe's ideological front, little is left of the left. The discredited notions of redistribution of wealth, reward for doing nothing, penalties for enterprise and success — the ideas that undermined the profit motive and that held down standards of living — are being abandoned even in Sweden. The continuing left legacy from the entitlement brigades, but the direction is right.

While concentrating on the ethnic problems caused by the Cold War's end, too many of what Mr. Clinton calls "the preachers of pessimism" overlook the benefits: Spending on armaments, which are essentially unproductive, will continue to be cut. Fear of the Russians may have been a unifier, but the absence of the fear of a loss of freedom is an undeniable value.

The integration of Europe is now being approached with less messianic zeal. Monetary union has not worked. The good sense of the Danes resulted in a loosening of the bonds of political union; only because of new "reservations" of sovereignty did Denmark's referendum approve the flawed Maastricht treaty. As the British and others demand the same flexibility, the result should help the European Community without giving Brussels carte blanche to crush national diversity.

The business cycle will do its turn: animal spirits will revive; deflation will lift and prosperity will again be taken for granted. What then?

Then the nations of Western Europe will have no ready excuse for denying opportunity to the former Soviet bloc; or for refusing to share their rights of full citizenship with longtime residents; or for unconsciously turning their backs on the victims of invasion, repression and genocide.

Today, in the grip of gloom, the tired leaders of Europe's nations have failed their first post-Cold War test in the Balkans and impeded the continuance of the U.S. presence in Europe. Tomorrow, on the rebound, Europe's new leaders will be called on to decide whether Europe will be the cradle or the grave of the "right to intervene" to defend human rights.

If so, they will find the American president as their ally in the advancement of freedom. If not — if they let the coming prosperity in the declining joys bedazzle them — they will justify the doubts of today's prophets of doom.

The New York Times.

question of creed or sect. Rev. Goodheart's view is that it is worthwhile to keep yourself in hand, especially while you are on foreign though friendly soil, because the eyes of the home folk are on you. They are proud of you. Jim Goodheart is doing what he can to keep the army clean.

### 1943: Attacks in Italy

ALLIED HEADQUARTERS IN NORTH AFRICA — [From our New York edition:] Tearing apart the Axis air opposition at the rate of 19 enemy planes destroyed to one allied craft lost, squadrons of Allied bombers kept the Italian islands and Italy itself under "almost continual attack" during the weekend. Communications today [June 7] told of shattering assaults on Italian Mediterranean island defenses. Allied planes sweeping out from North Africa and the Middle East attacked the island of Pantelleria. Sicily and the continental supply ports of Messina, San Giovanni and Reggio Calabria were hard hit as well.

100-75-50



## OPINION

## The Chaos and Capitulation Are Worrying

By Anthony Lewis

NEW YORK — With apologies to Art Buchwald, who had a similar dream in 1965, I awoke with a shudder the other morning from a terrible dream. I dreamt that George Bush had been re-elected last fall, and the country still had a president who was paralyzed by fear of the political right.

**Real choices are harder than campaign promises. But there is something deeply wrong with the Clinton presidency. Something is lacking.**

In the dream Mr. Bush caved in to right-wing opponents of civil rights laws. Under attack from them he withdrew his nomination

of a personal friend, a law professor, to enforce those laws. Mr. Bush tried to do something for the budget and the environment by setting realistic fees for grazing cattle on federal lands. But ranchers objected, and he caved in again.

The worry factor: That is what the dream brought back, memories of a president who did not have the courage of his convictions. Or did not have convictions.

Bosnia was the most painful part of the dream. Mr. Bush went on wringing his hands and doing nothing. And the Serbs went on raping and killing and terrorizing the Bosnian Muslims to force them out.

then a chance to prove that they were entitled to political asylum. He continued to hold HIV-positive refugees in a Guantanamo prison camp.

The right won another victory in my dream, small but especially sweet for Jesse Helms. The Justice Department asked for reversal of a federal judge's decision that the "deceit clause" added to the standard for federal arts grants violated the First Amendment of the Constitution.

If Bill Clinton had been elected, I thought, those things could not have happened. The censors and the opponents of civil rights enforcement

would have lost their clout. Strong U.S. leadership in the world would have supported human rights. The country would have seen change, vigor, courage.

Of course it is unfair to Bill Clinton to suggest by irony that George Bush might as well be president. Some things have changed. Mr. Clinton signed the voter registration and family leave bills that Mr. Bush vetoed. He did away with the infamous abortion gag rule.

Moreover, real choices are harder than campaign promises. China has economic power. Admitting Haitians, even victims of persecution, has political costs.

But there is something profoundly wrong with Bill Clinton's presidency. No one knows that the country needed real change.

The Lani Guinier episode represented failure both political and moral. The bungling ended in an outright misrepresentation — that Mr. Clinton's decision to withdraw her nomination had no political basis. The result will embolden right-wing obstructionists. In the civil rights field, it will make more

difficult reasoned discussion, long overdue, of the gerrymandered "minority districts" that trouble Professor Galanter.

And the Guinier affair was only the latest example of capitulation and chaos in this White House. The record is full of jobs dangled and then withdrawn. Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago was asked to be transportation secretary; he said "yes," but then the job wasn't there.

To show that he is moving to the center, Mr. Clinton has hired David Gergen. Mr. Gergen is a fine man, but he is not a substantive political figure, a representative Republican, say. He is an opinion-shaper.

With 43 percent of the vote, Mr. Clinton should be near the center. But the way to have done that, to broaden his base, was to include moderate Republicans in his administration at the start.

Mistakes can be corrected. What is worrying about Bill Clinton is the possibility that something fundamental is lacking in this very smart man. He may inadvertently have said it in his comment on dropping Lani Guinier: "This is about my center, not about the political center."

The New York Times.

## Do They Really Want to Be Part of This?

By Colman McCarthy

WASHINGTON — Euphemism is the uniform in which we dress up war. Sartorial phrases are necessary to cover the naked facts that are the horrendous reality of battlefield slaughter.

When President Bill Clinton spoke of dispatching American pilots to kill people in Serbia who have been killing people in Bosnia, it was called, glossily, a show of force. The bombing of Serbian bridges, rail lines, storage areas and gun positions is what the

## MEANWHILE

Pentagon refers to as "surgical strikes" — though when U.S. surgeons performed in Iraq, Libya, Panama and Grenada, what followed was the butchery of civilians, not surgical removal of military cysts.

The Pentagon's decision to give women equal combat opportunities to kill and be killed was called by Representative Patricia Schroeder, a dedicated euphemist, "an important step to full citizenship."

And the day after the gay rights march in Washington, several hundred gay veterans demonstrated at the Pentagon, with the spokesman announcing: "We're here to tell the men and women in that building that we are patriotic Americans and we are fit to serve our country." In other words — accurate ones — "train gays to be killers."

War itself is a word of evasion. Other wars — on drugs, crime, poverty — are waged and they are equated with exertions of moral resolve against social evils, not of organized taking of life. By that standard, troops sent into combat are serving a noble cause, not engaging in legalized homicide.

Some soldiers understand, in post-combat shock, how they were suckered. William Calley, the American lieutenant charged with overseeing the massacre of more than 100 Vietnamese civilians in My Lai in 1968, recalled: "In all my years in the army I was never taught that Communists were human beings. We were there to kill ideology carried by — I don't know — pawns, blobs, pieces of flesh. I was there to destroy communism. We never conceived of old people, men, women, children, babies."

Women celebrating their acceptance into the cockpit of fighter planes and gays embracing warriorism represent a further militarization of the United States and an escalation of America's self-serving delusion that its war machine produces peace.

That women and gays are seeking to be equals in the rites of mass murder — once the preserve of heterosexual males — indicates how voraciously they have been failed by feminist

and gay rights leaders. Adolescent girls, as well as high school or college gays, need someone to hold high the ideal that compassion, justice and empathy are the basis of feminism and gay rights, and the military ethic is a raw betrayal of that ideal.

The push for equality in the armed forces is a phony gain. To be the ethical equal of men like Colin Powell or Norman Schwarzkopf is moral regression. They are pseudo-tough guys whose careers were marked by only one talent: advising presidents on the surest way of annihilating people we don't like.

Feminist and gay leaders ought to be calling for permanent boycotts of the military. Even aside from the Pentagon's long and sordid record of demeaning women and harassing gays, there is the other horror that U.S. wars since World War II have been onslaughts against weak and poor people in the Third World. Nothing in Bill Clinton's current thinking suggests a change in this policy.

Feminists and gays should be encouraging their constituencies to be picketing military bases, not groveling to get in. War is the state's use of violence against people seen as inferior and different. No cover-up of language — "full citizenship" — can hide the reality that America's military is run by bigots who view women and gays as inferior and different.

Washington Post Writers Group.



Flag-raising over Bosnia.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Clinton in the Trenches

The media continue to inform us that President Bill Clinton lacks military experience and therefore cannot come to a decision regarding U.S. action in Bosnia. But if we look at recent U.S. presidents, we see that Harry Truman served as a low-ranking officer in World War I, hardly a claim to knowledge of all things military; Ronald Reagan helped make training films; and George Bush was a teenage navy pilot, hardly qualifying him as a military genius. Only Dwight Eisenhower had the required training to lead his country in time of hostility.

The problem lies not with Mr. Clinton's knowledge of things military but with the military top brass who refuse to fight except against a pushover foe like Iraq.

Regarding "Clinton Is Boast at Vietnam Memorial" (June 1): Why do headlines so frequently accentuate the negative? Even when President Bill Clinton does something that is clearly seen by the majority as positive — and the article says that there was far more applause than booing at his Vietnam Memorial appearance — the boos make the front-page headline. President Bill Clinton would seem to have a long and arduous road ahead of him.

MARY H. THOMPSON, Louveciennes, France.

## Kohl and the Skinheads

Regarding "A Newly Excellent German Politics, Please" by John Vinocur (Opinion, June 2):

I agree absolutely that Chancellor Helmut Kohl should have the courage to go on television to condemn, vigorously and personally, the terrible aggressions of neo-Nazis in Germany. Unfortunately, he will do it his way: a declaration, here, some warnings there, a few empty phrases. Mr. Kohl can hardly be considered an excellent politician.

LUTZ HERMANN, London.

## Held Accountable

Regarding "The Muzzle of 'Correctness' Has an Ugly History" (Meanwhile, May 13) by Richard Harwood:

Before political correctness was labeled as such, it was called common sense. You considered what you said before you said it. Are we now, in our speech, really nervously tiptoeing around "explosive subjects, hoping to avoid stepping on ... a land mine," or are we just beginning to pay more attention to what we say and how it affects others because we are being held accountable for our words as never before? Being held accountable is always hard. A lot of people today have no practice at that.

DEBORAH HOLMAN, Kuala Lumpur.

## Bearing Witness

Regarding "Adults Around the World Are Furious About This" (May 26) by Michael Kelly:

Mr. Kelly fails to see that Hillary Rodham Clinton and her generation, at their best and deepest, are on a religious quest.

The Christian tradition calls on people to bear witness. The witness-bearer, in this case Mrs. Clinton, is one who voices the discontents of society's silenced, ignored, abused or invisible members so that the silenced may find a voice, cry out for justice, demand to be seen. The witness is a disturber of the peace. That is what Eleanor Roosevelt did, and the social worker Jane Addams before her. Like them, Mrs. Clinton understands the power of the powerless. She will find her voice, and her witness will bear fruit.

CHARLES J. BUSSEY, Aarhus, Denmark.

Reading Michael Kelly's articles about Mrs. Clinton (May 25-26), I had two misgivings. First, I was unable to square her lamentations about deviant behavior with her support for abortion and homosexuality. Second, Mrs. Clinton has been appointed to reform the health care system and not Americans' evil ways. If the first lady wants to discuss theology and metaphysics, I suggest she apply for a faculty position at a divinity school.

ANDY CORSINI, Marseille.

## Iraqi Refugees

Regarding "For the Enemies of the Saudis: Enemy, a Cemetery" (Opinion, April 10) by Flora Lewis:

The true situation in the Saudi refugee camps has been verified by the United Nations and the International Red Cross, as well as prominent members of the Iraqi Shiite community and visiting journalists. Sadako Ogata, UN high commissioner for refugees, who visited the Rafha camp in January, expressed her appreciation of the high living standards provided for the refugees.

After visiting the camps, Saad Saleh Jabr, chairman of the Free Iraqi council and an Iraqi Shiite, said of those he saw: "I have just returned from Saudi Arabia and I can confirm that they are very well under the good care of the Saudi government, which has provided all the necessities for their well-being, including food supplies of the highest quality, air-conditioned dwellings, as well as financial allowances on a regular basis. They are completely at liberty to travel to any country which is willing to accept them. None of them has ever been forced to leave Saudi Arabia. A few of them, however, have actually returned willingly and out of choice to Iraq."

Saudi Arabia is determined to continue doing everything within its means for the welfare of these unfortunate people.

M. RAA al-HUSSAINI, Saudi Arabian Embassy, London.

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## From Diplomat to Princess

### The Press Massages Masako Owada's Image

By David E. Sanger  
New York Times Service

TOKYO — In Japan this month, only those as dead as the ancient emperors could miss their critical facts about Masako Owada: Her favorite coffee-shop lunch is a curry rice special; her Yorkshire terrier, Choccolat, was born in Scotland and joined the Owada family during a diplomatic mission to Paris; and the craftsman who ruined her traditional Japanese kimono chests by covering the rich wood in tacky gold leaf are now very, very sorry.

For the casual channel-surfer or for anyone lingering in front of a subway newsstand these days, there is hardly a trivial detail you cannot learn about the savvy 29-year-old woman who on Wednesday will become the crown princess of Japan.

Unless, of course, you are curious about what this onetime diplomat thinks about the future of Japan's relations with America — the subject to which she devoted the last decade — or how she may change the most sacred institution of modern Japan, its monarchy.

In a country whose press knows better than to step out of line when it comes to the imperial family, Miss Owada's public image has been transformed in recent weeks from that of a tough, independent Harvard-and-Oxford-trained trade negotiator to a soft-spoken, picture-perfect Japanese princess.

Japanese reporters talk about "helping" Masako-san, as she is now known throughout the country, in making the spiritual transition from the mauve conference rooms where she once hammered out semiconductor accords to the moss-covered Shinto shrine where, out of view of even the 900 wedding guests, she will come to embody Japan's ancient soul.

But already the carefully fashioned image of Miss Owada is coming into sharp conflict with the one appearing abroad. Japanese news magazines and some official have demanded apologies from American magazines whose coverage they deem "utterly impolite" and "disrespectful." Further out here, many Japanese say, are the incessant questions overseas about whether Miss Owada is somehow a victim, whose career and independence are being being sacrificed for her country.

"You are seeing the conflict of two very different journalistic traditions," said Kumiko Inoguchi,

a professor at Sophia University here and a friend of Miss Owada's since the future princess's days as a Harvard undergraduate. "One that says too little, and one that sometimes says too much."

Nothing brought the different approaches into starker contrast than an issue of Newsweek, which is published here in both English and Japanese. A few weeks ago, when a kimono-clad Miss Owada appeared on the cover, the magazine's English-language cover declared her "The Reluctant Princess," a reference to how she had kept Crown Prince Naruhito at bay for six years while she jetted around the world.

While the same picture appeared on the cover of Newsweek's Japanese-language edition, the headline was "The Birth of a Princess." The magazine's editors, who operate under a license from Newsweek in the United States, say that "reluctant" is awkward to translate, but they have also explained to the Japanese press that they try to use particular caution when writing about Japan.

But that has paled in comparison to the reaction here to stories suggesting that Miss Owada, like most bright and interesting women her age, may have had a boyfriend or two in the past. Vanity Fair made big headlines here when it made less-than-flattering comments about Miss Owada's appearance and ran every unsubstantiated rumor of past loves. Its article was also filled with unattributed, direct quotations from private conversations in which Miss Owada was trying to persuade Miss Owada to marry her son.

That raised many eyebrows among Japanese, the more charitable of whom thought that the magazine must have confused this monarchy with one half a world away.

"This is Japan bashing," concluded the popular weekly Shukan Shincho. "If Japanese magazines wrote this kind of thing based on hearsay and rumors about President and Mrs. Clinton, there would be fierce protests all over America."

While Japanese reporters have invested huge amounts of time and energy into investigating the future empress's past social life, not a word of it has gotten into print. One reporter for a major Japanese newspaper explained that the investigations were defensive, in case another publication — one of Japan's racy weekly magazines or the foreign press — risked good taste and the wrath of Japan's rightists by publishing such stories.



New York police escorting survivors away from the beach after the freighter went aground with illegal Chinese aliens aboard.

## For Illegal Aliens, Burden of a Village's Trust

By Nicholas D. Kristof  
New York Times Service

BEIJING — The desperate risks that Chinese take to get to the United States reflect the burden of the trust that has been placed in them by friends and family.

Very few Chinese can afford the thousands of dollars demanded by the "snakeheads," or smugglers. So those who yearn for a better life in the United States borrow from relatives, friends and even neighbors. They may carry with them an entire village's hopes for a better future, for if the migrant prospers in the United States he will send back money and help others migrate as well. But if he is caught and sent back, he has not only humiliated himself but wasted the savings of those who bet their money on him.

Why do they go? Some want more political or religious freedom, or to escape from the tyranny of the village Communist Party secretary. But the most powerful force usually appears to be the yearning for a better life.

Many are peasants, especially young men. The per capita income for peasants in China is only about \$125 a year, and land is so scarce that most can look forward to farming only a fraction of an acre. Most of the migrants come from Fujian Province, a hilly coastal region opposite Taiwan. The boldest people of Fujian have been emigrating since the 17th century, when the first waves began sailing for Taiwan and Southeast Asia.

Even today, Fujianese dialects are common in Singapore and

Hong Kong, and the southern Fujianese dialect is dominant in Taiwan. President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan and Corason C. Aquino, the former president of the Philippines, are among the many overseas Chinese who trace their roots to Fujian.

Today Fujian is richer than many other parts of China, but it is still clear to any Fujianese peasant that those who migrate do better than those who stay behind.

The yearning to flee is compounded by unrealistic expecta-

tions about what life abroad can offer. Smugglers tell prospective migrants that ship conditions will be comfortable and the journey easy, that it is simple to make a fortune in Meigao, "the beautiful country," as the United States is called in Chinese.

The phenomenon of the boat people is a consequence of the economic liberalization in China, and of the Communist Party's diminishing control over the population. Private boats used to be rare, wealth was difficult to hide, and

peasants were stuck in their own villages. But these days, the economic boom and loosening of government policies have resulted in a profusion of private boats and far greater mobility for peasants.

No one either notices or complains if a peasant disappears from his village, or if a worker resigns from his factory job. And the Fujian coastline is dotted with boats that since the early 1980s have done a thriving business in smuggling goods from Taiwan and Hong Kong.

## SMUGGLE: A Rising Tide of Illegal Chinese in U.S.

Continued from Page 1

cials said. Twenty-four boats have been intercepted by the American authorities, who have sharply increased their efforts to monitor the vessels.

"What we are witnessing is the continuation of a deplorable trend," said William S. Slatery, director of the New York office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

If the immigrants who came ashore in Queens follow a pattern that has become common, they will seek asylum in the United States by claiming that they face persecution in their homeland because of China's population-control policies, which generally restrict couples to only one child, immigration officials said.

But if the immigrants had succeeded in sneaking into the country, as they apparently planned to

do, they might have chosen another increasingly common tactic for winning a legal place in the United States — a false claim that they had been here since the 1989 uprising in Tiananmen Square, the officials said. Government policy allows those people to remain in the United States.

Immigration and police officials said the immigrants typically agree to pay smugglers tens of thousands of dollars for the trip and end up in a system of indentured servitude operated in the United States by Chinese gangs. Law enforcement officials said many illegal Chinese aliens worked off their debts in Chinese restaurants in New York and New Jersey.

Two weeks ago, 57 illegal Chinese immigrants were found in a warehouse in Jersey City, New Jersey, where they were being held by smugglers as they waited for rela-

tives to come up with the \$25,000 to \$30,000 per person demanded for their release. Some told the police they had entered the United States on foot from Mexico; others said they entered by airplane, and some said they came by ship, but were unable or unwilling to say where the ship had dropped them off.

For the human cargo of the Golden Venture, the journey to a home in the United States stands a good chance of success, in part because Chinese applications for political asylum are treated more favorably than others, immigration lawyers say.

About 80 percent of Chinese refugees who formally apply for asylum are granted it, compared to about 35 percent overall, according to Arthur C. Helton, director of the Refugee Project of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights in New York City.

## Israel Calls Accord A Pen Stroke Away

By Clyde Haberman  
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — Israeli leaders offered unusually optimistic assessments Monday of the Middle East peace talks, with Foreign Minister Shimon Peres saying that Israel and Jordan were so close to an agreement that "we just have to take out the pen and sign."

He echoed similar remarks made several days ago by the new Jordanian prime minister, Abdul-Salam Majali, who forecast breakthroughs before the end of the year that could produce Israeli accords with other Arab neighbors as well.

But Israeli officials cautioned that their newly expressed optimism did not reflect a specific action that has pushed them closer to a concrete deal with any Arab neighbor, whether it be Jordan, Syria, Lebanon or the Palestinians.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was said by a spokesman to have specifically told members of parliament from his Labor Party on Monday that he expected no breakthroughs in the next round of talks, scheduled to begin June 15.

Moreover, Mr. Peres's hopeful comments about Jordan describe a situation that has been evident for at least seven months — that it would require very little for Israel and Jordan to agree on an agenda that declares their goal to be a formal peace treaty within the framework of a comprehensive Israeli-Arab settlement.

But as the Israeli Foreign Minister observed, the Jordanians are not about to race ahead of the other Arab delegations, certainly not before Israel reaches a settlement with the Palestinians in occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

And so, after the various statements are stripped to their basics, they do not suggest that anything of substance has changed in the stouter-start negotiations that began in Madrid in October 1991.

Nonetheless, atmospherics count in this region. The readiness to be hopeful contrasted sharply with the air of gloom that had set in, espe-

cially among the Palestinians, whose leaders have often focused far more on the lack of progress than far and on their difficulties in persuading people that it is worthwhile to keep talking.

Arab representatives meeting Monday in the Jordanian capital said that all the Arab parties would show up in Washington next week, dispensing with the will-they-or-won't-they-come drama that had preceded almost every one of the previous nine rounds.

Since President Clinton took office, the United States, as chief sponsor, has said that it is ready to become a "full partner" in the talks. But it has not spelled out what that means, and it seems to be waiting for the parties to make progress on their own before jumping in with full force, as some Israeli officials say will be necessary if there are ever to be peace treaties.

Several political commentators here said that Israeli leaders may have decided to accentuate the positive at this point as a political tactic, to show both their own commitment and the Arabs that the negotiations, far from meandering, can produce tangible results with a bit of effort.

A sense of direction, they said, is particularly important to keep the Palestinians' interest alive as the two sides negotiate a declaration of principles on future self-rule for the 1.8 million Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza.

Palestinians aside, Israeli officials cite recent remarks by leaders in several Arab countries, including Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, as suggesting that they, too, want to move negotiations ahead.

For now, Mr. Peres said, the Israeli-Jordan track offers the clearest hope for a breakthrough. "What is missing in Israeli-Jordan relations is a pen and not an agreement because essentially we have reached agreement," he said in remarks broadcast on Israel Radio. "We just have to take out the pen and sign."

## UN Deaths Put Somalia On Edge

By Keith Richburg  
Washington Post Service

MOGADISHU, Somalia — Tension ran high here Monday as Pakistani soldiers shot and possibly killed two suspected snipers, Somalis erected makeshift barricades on some main roads, and the country's main warlord blamed United Nations troops for the weekend outbreak that halted relief efforts and raised fears the country was headed for more violence.

UN troops again stayed largely off the streets, preferring to patrol the capital by helicopter following the guerrilla-style ambush Saturday that killed at least 23 Pakistanis — the highest UN loss of peacekeepers since 1961, when 44 Ghanians were killed in the Congo.

"At this point, we'd rather just observe from the air as much as possible," said a U.S. Army major, David Stockwell, the UN military spokesman in Somalia. He described the situation around the city as "stable but still tense."

Around the sprawling American Embassy compound, where UN troops have their headquarters, soldiers erected new barricades, and Turkish and Tunisian sentries moved armored Bradley fighting vehicles into defensive positions around the perimeter.

Somalis, too, appeared to be setting up fresh barricades of their own, twisted metal debris and steel in some places blocking the streets leading to the residential compound of the man accused of orchestrating the weekend violence, General Mohammed Farah Aidid. As heavy rains began falling on the city, both sides appeared to be bracing for a possible assault by the other.

Pakistani military officials revised their casualty figures to 23 confirmed dead and 59 wounded in the Saturday attacks, with some Pakistani soldiers still missing and possibly being held hostage.

"There may be some soldiers still missing," Major Stockwell said, refusing to disclose any further details. UN officials also declined to speak further about the missing, saying their lives might be in jeopardy if too much information was revealed.

On Monday, five of the missing Pakistani soldiers — two of them wounded — were released by the main Somali militia being blamed for the violence.

Two of the soldiers had suffered gunshot wounds, and they described how they had been generally well treated but kept locked in a Somali house until their release to the Italian government envoy here.

They described how they fought off their attackers at a feeding center on the edge of a crowded marketplace until they ran out of ammunition, and how they watched helplessly as U.S. or Italian helicopters hovered overhead, exchanging fire with the gunmen and probably unable to see the Pakistanis in cover.

Following the hastily crafted UN Security Council resolution on Sunday, which authorized UN troops to arrest and hold for trial those responsible for organizing or instigating last weekend's bloody ambushes, there was a heavy mood of anticipation here that some type of UN offensive or retaliatory attack may be imminent.

Military officials here declined to specify what they were considering in response to the attacks.

## Wary of Allen, Judge Rules for Farrow

Reuters

NEW YORK — Woody Allen lost his bid for custody of his 12-year-old daughter, Dylan, on Monday when a judge questioned whether he could ever be a fit parent and criticized the filmmaker's affair with Ms. Farrow's oldest adopted daughter, Soon-Yi Farrow Previn.

The judge, Elliott Wilk of New York Supreme Court, denied almost all of Mr. Allen's requests to see his three children and questioned a report by child-abuse experts that had exonerated him of sexually abusing his adopted daughter, Dylan, 7.

"Mr. Allen's relationship with Dylan remains unresolved," the judge said. The evidence suggests that it is unlikely that he could be a fit parent and that he could be a danger to his children.

"Mr. Allen admits that he never considered the consequences of his behavior with Soon-Yi," Judge Wilk said, noting that two doctors had testified that Mr. Allen "still fails to understand that what he did was wrong."

He described Mr. Allen as "self-absorbed, untrustworthy and insensitive."

One of the few victories for Mr. Allen was that he will be allowed to see Dylan three times a week, up from the present twice. But the visits must be supervised.

Legal experts said that the decision to bar Mr. Allen from unsupervised visits with Dylan and Soon-Yi was the strongest action against the filmmaker, showing that the judge had doubts about whether he could be trusted.

"My caution is the product of Mr. Allen's demonstrated inability to understand the impact that his words and deeds have upon the emotional well-being of his children," Judge Wilk said.

Ms. Farrow and Mr. Allen, who were lovers for almost 13 years but never married, were fighting over the custody of Dylan and their adopted son, Moses, 15, and their natural son, Satchel, 5.

Judge Wilk was also highly critical of Mr. Allen's affair with Ms. Previn, 22, which caused his break-up with Ms. Farrow. He said Mr. Allen "showed no understanding that the bonds developed between adoptive brothers and sisters are no less worthy of respect and protection than those between biological siblings."

Mr. Allen, 57, and Ms. Farrow, 48, parted in January 1992 after the found photographs showing Mr. Previn naked in his apartment. "Mr. Allen admits that he never considered the consequences of his behavior with Soon-Yi," Judge Wilk said, noting that two doctors had testified that Mr. Allen "still fails to understand that what he did was wrong."

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"My caution is the product of Mr. Allen's demonstrated inability to understand the impact that his words and deeds have upon the emotional well-being of his children," Judge Wilk said.

"Mr. Allen has demonstrated no parenting skills that would qualify him as an adequate custodian for Moses, Dylan or Satchel," he said.

The judge added: "He did not bathe his children. He did not dress them, except from time to time, and then only to help them put on their socks and jackets. He knows little of Moses' history, except that he has cerebral palsy; he does not know if he has a doctor. He does not know the names of Dylan and Satchel's pediatricians. He does not know the names of Moses' teachers or about his academic performance. He does not know the names of the children's dentist. He does not know the names of his children's friends. He does not know the names of any of their many pets. He does not know which children shared bedrooms. He attended parent-teacher conferences only when asked to do so by Ms. Farrow."

Ms. Farrow, clearly pleased, said she was glad the ordeal was over.

"I'm so grateful to have the family that I have and that this judge has seen to it that they will be protected," she said.

"I hope I can go home to my children and have some measure of peace and to heal, and that we can wake up to a real normal day," she added.

Mr. Allen's attorney, Elkan Abramowitz, said he saw positive aspects to the ruling.

"We're happy that the rights of visitation has been established by this court order and that it will be done within a therapeutic context," he said, alluding to the sessions to be held with Mr. Allen, Dylan and a therapist.

## KASHMIR: Chilling Tales of Fear and Terror in India's Dirty New War

Continued from Page 1

Two of the three wars fought between Pakistan and India, both of which lay claim to the jagged snow-capped peaks and lush green valleys where generations of British colonial soldiers escaped the New Delhi heat aboard houseboats floating serenely on Lake Dal.

U.S. military officials view

Kashmir and the tensions it has created between the neighboring countries as one of the world's most likely flash points for nuclear war. A growing number of political observers in the region believe that the 46-year-old struggle can only be resolved with pressure from the United States or the United Nations.

## ISLE: Carriacou's Cry for Liberty

Continued from Page 1

appropriately low-key, act of defiance for a slumbering fishing settlement where chickens feel secure enough to rest in potholes because of the lack of traffic.

"I wouldn't speak of an insurrection, but whenever government is destructive to the rights of its citizens, the people must contemplate their own liberation," Mr. Clenden intoned gravely, talking up the idea of forcing a vote on secession in the next elections. "When we meet every day to eyeball every true Carriacouan simply wishes to be left alone."

But while Mr. Clenden dreams of a new republic nourished by what he says could be a boom in things like tourism and international ship registry, many of his fellow Carriacouans seem to have less exalted aspirations.

"I am one of those people who believe that we have to have a little patience," said Cluthbert Snagg, a shrewd 32-year-old who was repairing the small boats he rents to the occasional tourist. "It is true that Grenada has rejected us, but we should focus on getting a few basics, like running water and some paved roads. Otherwise, I am afraid people will be expecting much too much too soon."

On the streets of Hillsborough, the waterfront town of 600 that would serve as capital if this 16-square-mile speck of land were to achieve its dream of independence, others put this sentiment more simply, but with similar conclusions.

"The Grenadians are a bit different from us, but I can't say exactly why," said Lemmon Corion, a taxi driver

The United States recently has entered the debate by warning Pakistan that it risks being named a terrorist state if it continues arming, training and financing the guerrillas in Kashmir. U.S. officials also have raised concerns with India over alleged human-rights abuses by its military forces.

In addition to its political standoff with Pakistan, India finds itself in a struggle with its own people. Kashmir was granted an unusual status during the partition of Pakistan and India in 1947, and it has remained a disputed territory ever since. In the last four decades, the residents' sentiments have fluctuated apathy to a desire to become part of Pakistan to support for independence from both countries.

Violence erupted in late 1989 when militant Kashmiris, frustrated by years of political stalemate, drew strength from the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan under pressure from guerrilla forces. Aided by arms and other support from Pakistan, the militant Kashmiris launched their own war for freedom.

The conflict has become to India what the Vietnam War was to the United States and the war in Afghanistan to the Soviet Union: a debilitating conflict costing millions of dollars and thousands of

lives with no coherent political policy to control it and little chance of victory.

"It's an absurd figure we're spending for no reason whatsoever," Salman Khurshid, India's minister of state for external affairs, said in describing the budget drain of deploying a minimum of 300,000 troops along the Indian-Pakistan border and throughout the valley.

Attacks on Turks and other foreigners continued over the weekend. A firebomb thrown into the home of a Lebanese family Sunday night injured one person near the western city of Dortmund. A Turkish restaurant was burned to the ground in Konstanz near the Swiss border; there were no injuries. In a town near Solingen, a Turkish woman and her five children fled a blaze that destroyed their home.

U.S. officials say Russia remains deeply suspicious of Ukraine's intentions and insisted that it not be rewarded for reluctance to surrender the weapons.

Some officials in Washington also remain skeptical that Ukraine can be persuaded to give up its nuclear weapons by anything less than a tough U.S. line.

Speaking of the new U.S. proposals, a U.S. official said "Ukraine basically likes them all" and "Russia is skeptical of them all."

Under the weapons storage option, an estimated 1,600 to 1,800 warheads would be withdrawn from silo-based missiles and an estimated 600 to 800 cruise missiles meant for deployment on bombers.

## Kohl Says He Feared Disruption At Funeral

By Marc Fisher  
Washington Post Service

BERLIN — Chancellor Helmut Kohl said Monday he did not attend memorial ceremonies for five Turkish victims of a neo-Nazi firebombing because his appearance would have prompted jeers from protesters.

Mr. Kohl, whose decision to avoid television or public appearances after the arson attack has been sharply criticized within his own party, said he did not need to make symbolic gestures to prove his sympathy for Germany's 1.8 million Turkish residents.

When Mr. Kohl attended services at a Berlin cathedral Sunday, his first public appearance in Germany since the attack eight days earlier in the western city of Solingen, he was booed and jeered. Protesters waved banners reading, "Mr. Kohl — is this more important than Solingen?"

A survey by the Forsa polling organization found that 67 percent of Germans believed Mr. Kohl should have gone to the funeral of the two Turkish women and three girls in Solingen. On the day of the funeral, Mr. Kohl's office reported that the chancellor was in his office and had no appointments.

"Whether I went to the funeral or not has nothing to do with the question of my friendship with Turkey," Mr. Kohl said in a television interview. "Now, if I had gone there, and I were then booed down by a particular group, that would have been the proof that I provoked the Turkish or German reaction."

"I know what kind of images go around the world and what don't," he said. "So I know how to behave myself."

Mr. Kohl appeared to be referring to the public relations debacle the Bonn government suffered last fall when it organized a mass pro-foreigner demonstration in Berlin. Mr. Kohl originally opposed staging the event, fearing it would be disturbed by radicals.

That is exactly what happened. Producing pictures of President Richard von Weizsäcker standing helplessly behind a wall of police riot shields protecting him from a shower of paint bombs and eggs. What was supposed to be a demonstration of German popular outrage over anti-foreigner violence became instead a symbol of the government's inability to get a grip on violent extremism.

Mr. Kohl said anti-foreigner tensions in Germany had been caused not by the large number of Turks living in the country, but by the problem of economic refugees, which has for far too long remained unresolved.

The chancellor said he would act soon to ease the plight of young German-born Turks, who face tight restrictions on access to German citizenship. "We must find a solution for these young people who were born in Germany, who have foreign heritage and who want to remain here," Mr. Kohl said.

Without directly addressing calls for Turks and other foreigners to be allowed to carry double citizenship, Mr. Kohl said Germany's citizenship law, which dates from 1913 and grants a German passport only to people born to German parents, should be re-examined.

Mr. Kohl's party opposes granting foreigners double citizenship. It argues that new Germans should be required to demonstrate their allegiance to the country by accepting responsibilities such as military service. Most double citizenship proposals would let German-born Turks choose whether to serve in the German or Turkish forces.

The opposition Social Democrats, who propose dramatically easing citizenship requirements, said Turks deserve a sign that the government wants to integrate them into German society.

Several leading German officials warned Monday of escalating extremist violence.

"I fear that an avalanche has been unleashed that we can no longer stop," said Hans-Dieter Schwind, chairman of the government's Anti-Violence Commission. "It is probably already too late. This is just the beginning."

Attacks on Turks and other foreigners continued over the weekend. A firebomb thrown into the home of a Lebanese family Sunday night injured one person near the western city of Dortmund. A Turkish restaurant was burned to the ground in Konstanz near the Swiss border; there were no injuries. In a town near Solingen, a Turkish woman and her five children fled a blaze that destroyed their home.

## UKRAINE: Aspin's Plan Gains

Continued from Page 1

weapons sales to Ukraine and also did not discuss Ukrainian demands for economic compensation before surrendering the nuclear warheads.

The senior official on Mr. Aspin's plane said the proposals were meant to "turn the page" in U.S. relations with Ukraine, quoting a phrase he said was coined by the author of the new strategy, Graham Allison, a former Harvard professor of political science nominated to become an assistant secretary of defense for policy planning.

Although the new strategy of enhancing U.S. ties with Ukraine was obviously welcomed in Kiev, it has provoked some grumbling in Washington and outright hostility in Moscow.



JEFFREY MARDER, PUBLISHER/EDITOR

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# Style

## Next-Generation Shopping Society

By Suzy Menkes  
International Herald Tribune

**T**OKYO — Megumi Hada, 18, is taking a sunny Sunday stroll through the hip streets of the Shibuya district. Clomp, clomp, clomp go her clogs. Thump goes the wooden pendant on a leather thong on the chest of her apron dress.

"The shoes are because they are easy to wear — and in fashion," she explains. "The necklace I created myself from a branch I found, because I believe in handicraft and in nature."

There you have the spirit of a new generation in Tokyo, where ideology, ecology and pragmatism are replacing the forward march of the shopping society.

It is the feet you notice first in Shibuya. On the Ginza — Tokyo's upscale shopping area — there is pale hose with pastel pumps on feet as dainty as Japanese women's feet were supposed to be when they walked two paces behind their menfolk.

Down on Meiji Dori, women stride out: clogs clattering under long wrap skirts; heavy boots below bare legs and wide shorts. These women seem a world away from the shuffling steps in formal kimono in which nice young girls wed.

The marriage Wednesday of Japan's crown prince to Masako Owada is causing people to examine the nature of Japanese woman in the 1990s. The debate is whether the highly educated Owada is, as American feminists see her, a "rebellious princess," wrenched between a modern desire for career and freedom and the traditional Japanese ideal of duty to family. Or had she, as businesswomen in Japan more cynical suggest, long since reached the "glass ceiling" in her Foreign Ministry career and risked, at 29, being left on the shelf?

You don't have to enter the future-empire debate to see a new woman cut on Tokyo's streets. In Shibuya, 400 readers of *Olive*, a lively teenagers' magazine, lined up to compete for the title *Jeans Queen* 1993.

Ryoko Hada, 18, was wearing a tie-dye denim skirt with mesh vest over a T-shirt and the inevitable clogs. Her friend had put Reebok trainers under layers of long skirt and carried a hand-held wicker purse — a favorite accessory, along with an electronic pager so that a boyfriend can keep in touch.

You can also find in fashion the politics of protest on the boardwalk in Harajuku, where rock bands attract punks with spiky hair and torn clothing and sexually brazen Madonna wannabes. Mainstream youth culture is American sportswear: T-shirts, baseball caps and trainers, with a touch of grunge and a few young boys following black culture, with baggy rap sweats, track pants and dreadlocks.

Japan's new-wave fashion designers echo the inspirations and aspirations of a generation that is no longer fixated on either the status quo or status-symbol clothes.

"Maybe Masako will be a model for Japanese women — but my life is very different," says designer Chisato Tsumori, who graduated from Tokyo's Bunka fashion college and joined Issey Miyake in 1977. Three years ago he backed her to launch her own collection.

Tsumori says that she makes clothes she likes to wear herself, with an emphasis on knitting

and handwork. The result is a collection with an ethnic feel in its madras patchworks and naive knit-appliques of jungle animals. Her winter line is unshowy: the colors suffused with brown and red berry-juice colors; the fabrics in shrunken wool, patchworks of tweed and knit; reversible coats; long, loose layers. For evening, the styles are not sexy, but rich in their different textures of black.

"There are different types of women and many fashions in the stores — people choose according to lifestyle," says Tsumori. "Now

patterns and colors — cartoon characters on silk shirts or bright sweaters with elaborate textures. The inspiration is a childhood spent in his parent's kimono store, but the effect is as contemporary as rock music.

"I am 43, and I see a very big difference in ideas and thinking between the under- and over-40s," says Konishi. "The over-40s wear this fashion on weekends. But young people's ideas have changed, and they are trying to wear these kinds of clothes for work. The whole idea of a uniform of clothes for work is changing for a younger generation — they are trying to create their own fashion."

So Konishi creates complex, furrowed versions of Aran sweaters in natural colors, flamboyant men's suits or patchwork effects using different textures. He explains that "in Japan when you do patchwork you start by making each fabric" and says that he spends more than 60 percent of his time on spinning and the dying of the brilliant colors.

"The designs are not for daily wear — people permit themselves one item," he concedes. "Whether they are good or bad, I don't want to just do normal clothes."

**N**OBUYUKI Ota is chairman of the Council of Fashion Designers in Tokyo. He says that the current market situation is difficult for young designers. In the expansive 1980s, it was easy to get sponsorship from the big department stores. Now designers are on their own — and they have to be commercial.

Ota traces the birth of indigenous Japanese fashion to the Tokyo Olympics of 1964, when the American Ivy League look came to Japan along with "Coca-Cola, jeans, American breakfasts and sweaters." The preppy look inspired Miyake and Kenzo to create a Japanese fashion identity. Now they are being followed by another fashion wave.

"The new generation is hungry but not greedy," says Ota. "They are very quiet and trying to find their own way; they don't want to follow the big names."

The gulf between old and new ideas is encapsulated in the traditional Japanese wedding of which the royal event is the ultimate version. While one generation parades in Shibuya on weekends, the Imperial Hotel is filled with wedding guests: men in formal suits and women in dairy dresses or kimonos, clutching going-away gifts, as they watch the bride in her puffed Cinderella gown.

Even before she dons first her kimono and then the bridal gown, the future empress's new status has already been redefined by her clothes.

"I never imagined her wearing ribbons in her hair — she preferred American-style simple suits with tight skirts," says Yoshiko Kimura, who was a classmate of Owada's and now works in Japan for the British designer Paul Smith. "At school she liked sports like softball, and though it was a girls' school, she liked boyish things. I hope she changes the very strict atmosphere at court. She is international, and they are too traditional."

But inevitably, Owada's short, sharp suits and preppy clothes have been traded for ladylike fashions. Japan's youth may be voting with its feet for change, but you can be sure that its future empress will not be wearing the clumpy boots of Japan's new woman.



Heavy shoes are the new spirit.

Masako's life has changed, her fashion has also changed. It is like changing between Shibuya and Ginza style.

Yoshi Nagasawa, 26, worked for seven years in Paris as assistant to the late Tokio Kumagai before setting up his own label in 1991 and winning an award as most promising young designer the following year. He says that he has noticed a "new spirit of freedom" since returning to Tokyo from Paris.

"I felt a lot of difference. People know a lot about all kinds of fashion and understand about living how they want," he says. "In the 1980s, people had a complex about Europe. Now Japanese people don't feel so far away — they can go to Europe like going to Kyoto or Osaka."

Working from a studio in downtown Tokyo, Nagasawa chooses workmanlike fabrics: stretch elastic bandaging for his first collection; cloud-gray carpet felt for his fall line, or a thick cotton used for making flags. A fishnet fabric, a take on fashion's current fad for transparency, draws on the Japanese fishing tradition.

Nagasawa's clothes, which are on sale at Barneys' newly opened Tokyo store, are in the plain, quiet spirit internationally identified as Japanese fashion.

For Yoshiyuki Konishi, quiet clothes are anathema. His menswear, much favored by Tokyo's rock, pop and film stars, is in vivid



Street styles in Tokyo's Shibuya district, top, and designers, bottom from left: Konishi's brightly patterned, textured sweater; Tsumori's long dress with animal appliques; and Nagasawa's layered outfit with long coat.

### STYLE MAKERS

#### The Singapore Girl DEBUT AT TUSSAUD'S

International Herald Tribune

**S**INGAPORE — When the life-size figure of a Singapore Airlines flight attendant is installed this month at Madame Tussaud's waxworks in London alongside such other recently arrived celebrities as Presidents Bill Clinton and Saddam Hussein, it will mark a significant broadening of horizons for one of Britain's most popular tourist attractions.

Asia, with almost two-thirds of the world's population, can hardly be said to be prominently represented among the 350 or so wax models of luminaries from politics, sports, film, television, stage, royalty, history, the arts and crime who draw more than 2 million visitors a year to the London gallery.

Of the six Asians in Madame Tussaud's collection, four are dead and one, Chiyono Fuji, a former

champion sumo wrestler of Japan, has retired from the ring.

Only Benazir Bhutto, a former prime minister of Pakistan who heads the country's main opposition party, is still engaged in the activity for which she was chosen to appear in wax.

The appearance at Madame Tussaud's on June 18 of the Singapore Airlines flight attendant, whom most people know as the Singapore Girl, will be a small acknowledgment of the growing commercial force of East Asia — and of the power of advertising.

With about half its visitors arriving by air from outside Britain, including a growing number from Asia, the wax museum decided to shift its focus a bit.

"We felt that as people are traveling more and more by air, we should represent that as well," said Juliet Simkins, head of press and publicity at Madame Tussaud's.

Singapore Airlines was chosen, she explained, because it had pro-

moted itself for more than 20 years by using women in the cabin crew to appear as the Singapore Girl in advertising.

Lim Suet Kwee, the flight attendant who sat for the wax sculpture at Madame Tussaud's, was drawn from about 50 of the airline's cabin crew members.

Dressed in the airline's uniform, a sarong kebaya designed in batik by the French couturier Pierre Balmain, the Singapore Girl has been seen in many exotic locations — from the Dom Perignon chateau vineyard in France to Mount Fuji in Japan — by countless viewers and readers.

As a result, the Singapore Girl has become "a global icon," Simkins said.

Since the airline was established in 1972, it has committed more than 750 million Singapore dollars (\$470 million) to the Singapore Girl advertising campaign, including 100 million Singapore dollars budgeted for 1993 alone.

Nevertheless, some critics of the

Singapore Girl theme say that it is sexist and subservient and that it ought to be abolished.

"Just how many more Singapore Airlines stewardesses must be molded in flight before the airline reduces the free flow of alcoholic drinks to passengers?" thundered Tan Sai Siong in a recent column for the Straits Times, Singapore's main English-language newspaper.

**T**AN was writing after a German metalworker was fined 2,000 Singapore dollars for hugging a Singapore Airlines flight attendant during a flight from Frankfurt to Singapore. A Japanese farmer was docked a similar amount for molesting a flight attendant during a flight from Nagoya to Singapore.

At about the same time, a Sri Lankan was fined 1,000 Singapore dollars for punching a male Singapore Airlines flight attendant who told him to stop staring at a female colleague in the cabin crew and return to his seat.

In a letter to the Straits Times, a Singaporean reader, Chan Kwee Sung, said it was not "alcohol that spurs the libido of the male passenger, but the image of the Singapore Girl that has so long been the hard sell of SIA all over the world."

The airline disputes this. "We carry over 8 million passengers a year, and although I do not have exact figures, the number of incidents is certainly very small and, as far as we know, no greater than on other airlines," said Kamjit Singh, assistant director of corporate affairs.

"We have no reason to change a successful advertising and marketing communications program," he added.

Michael Richardson

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### Introducing CROSS Townsend. Inspired By An Era of Legendary Style.



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### CHESS

By Robert Byrne

**H**YPERMODERNISM is old in the annals of military combat but a late comer to chess. While its strategy of provoking opponents to overreach themselves and then surround and destroy their frailty supported, advanced units did not become a self-conscious approach to the chess openings until the rise of players like Richard Reti, Gyula Breyer and Aron Nimzovich in the 1920s, this had been stock in trade to the Spartan infantry at least as early as the Persian Wars in the Fifth Century B.C.

No opening better exemplifies hypermodernism than the Alekhine Defense. In his game with the Dutch grandmaster John Van der Wiel from Round 1 of the Sixth Klooster Tournament in Ter Apel, the Netherlands, in early April, with its 1... Nf6 leasing White to seize space with 2 e5. After 9 Nf3, White has a nice bridgehead at e5 and is threatening to enlarge it with an early d5. Black slows that down with 9... Bg4.

The exchange with 10... Bf3 11 g1 (11 Bf3 permits 11... Nc4) slightly loosens the white kingside, yet this cannot be exploited by 11... Qb4 12 Bf2 Qd4 13 c5 Nd7 14 Qd2 Qd2 15 Kd2 O-O-O 16 Kc2, which yielded White an endgame space

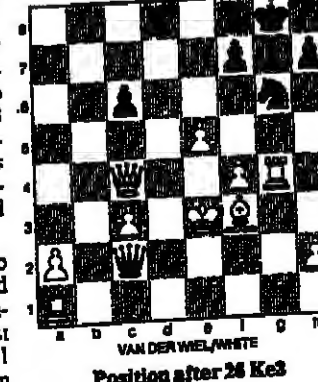
advantage in a J. Palkinen-T. Kilpi encounter in Helsinki last year. But Vaganian countered sharply with 13... Bb4! the immediate tactical point being that 14 d5 loses to 14... Qc6. After 14 Bb6 ab 15 Bf3 ed 16 Qb3, White still had a fine-looking center, but his king was uncomfortable in the center. Vaganian's threat was 17... Qh4 and 18... Qf4.

Van der Wiel did what he had to do, 17 Ke2, but, of course, that did nothing for his king's safety. Vaganian quickly opened lines against the enemy king with 20... b5! 21 Qb5 c6! 22 de bc. The Dutchman could not capture with 23 Bc6? because of 23... Qc3 24 Rhc1 Rd2 25 Kf1 Qe3.

On 23 Qc4 Ng6! Van der Wiel could not even dream of 24 Bc6? because 24... Rd3! would be tremendous (25 Qd3? Nf4 wins the white queen).

After 24... Qf5 (24... Qh2 should also win) 25 Rg4 Qc2, Van der Wiel avoided 26 Kf1 because 26... Rd3! 27 Rg3 (27 Bc4? Rd1 28 Rd1 Qd1 29 Kf2 Qd4 picks up a rook) Rg3 28 Qc4 Qh2 29 Rg4 Qh3 30 Kf2 Nh4 31 Rg5 Qh2 32 Rg2 Ng2 33 Bg2 f5! 34 e6 Rf6 is crushing.

Van der Wiel tried to brazen it out with 26 Ke3, but after 26... Qd2 out with 26 Ke3, there was no way out of the mating net with 28... f5 29 of



Position after 26 Ke3

Re8. Thus, 28 Kf5 Ne7 29 Kd5 (29 Ke4 f5 30 e6 Rf6 is also fatal) h6 30 Kh5 Qh2 31 Rh4 g6 32 Kg4 f5 33 e6 h5 34 Rh5 gh mate. Van der Wiel gave up.

ALEKHINE DEFENSE			
White	Black	White	Black
Van der Wiel	Vaganian	Van der Wiel	Vaganian
1 e4	Nf6	13 Bf3	Qc2
2 e5	Nb6	14 Bb6	Qc6
3 d4	Nc4	15 Bf3	Qd4
4 Nf3	Nd6	16 Qb3	Qh4
5 Bg5	Nf6	17 Ke2	Qf5
6 Bc4	Qc6	18 Bb6	Qc2
7 Bg4	Qc3	19 Rg4	Qh2
8 Bc6	Qd4	20 b5	Qh3
9 Nf3	Qd2	21 Qb5	Qh2
10 Bf3	Qd2	22 de bc	Qh2
11 g1	Qd2	23 Bc6	Qd3
12 Bf2	Qd2	24 Bc6	Qd3
13 Bf3	Qd2	25 Rg4	Qc2
14 Bb6	Qc6	26 Kf1	Qd4
15 Bf3	Qd4	27 Rg3	Qd1
16 Qb3	Qh4	28 Kf2	Qd4
17 Ke2	Qf5	29 Kf2	Qd4
18 Bb6	Qc2	30 Kf2	Qd4
19 Rg4	Qh2	31 Rg5	Qh2
20 b5	Qh3	32 Rg2	Ng2
21 Qb5	Qh2	33 Bg2	f5
22 de bc	Qh2	34 e6	Rf6
23 Bc6	Qd3		
24 Bc6	Qd3		
25 Rg4	Qc2		
26 Kf1	Qd4		
27 Rg3	Qd1		
28 Kf2	Qd4		
29 Kf2	Qd4		
30 Kf2	Qd4		
31 Rg5	Qh2		
32 Rg2	Ng2		
33 Bg2	f5		
34 e6	Rf6		











# NYSE

**Monday's Closing**  
Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect prices elsewhere. Via The Associated Press.

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一、本會定於陽曆九月一日（即農曆七月廿七日）在會所舉行週年大會，屆時請全體會員踴躍參加，共商會務。

二、本會為擴大宣傳，特在會所內設立展覽室，凡有關於本會宗旨及業務之資料，均可隨時前往參觀。

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六、本會為弘揚文化，特在會所內設立文化室，凡有關於本會宗旨及業務之文化活動，均可隨時前往參加。

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以上各項活動，均歡迎全體會員踴躍參加，共襄盛舉。

中華民國三十三年九月一日

本會秘書長 張三

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**Continued on Page 16**







# MARKET DIARY

## Earnings Worries Pull Stocks Down

**Bloomberg Business News**  
NEW YORK — U.S. stocks fell Monday on concern that companies like Cooper Tire & Rubber Co. and Apple Computer Corp. will report lower-than-expected earnings.

The Dow Jones industrial average declined 13.01 to close at 3,522.13. The average's decline was

led by shares of Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. and International Business Machines Corp.

Declining common stocks led by shares of Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. and International Business Machines Corp.

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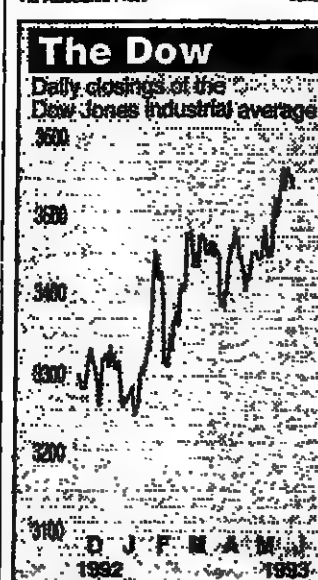
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NYSE Most Active

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
AT&T	27.1	26.9	27.0	-0.1
IBM	114.5	114.0	114.1	-0.4
Microsoft	31.0	30.5	30.8	-0.2
Oracle	28.5	28.0	28.2	-0.3
Novell	25.0	24.5	24.8	-0.2
Unisys	22.0	21.5	21.8	-0.2
Compaq	20.0	19.5	19.8	-0.2
Intel	18.0	17.5	17.8	-0.2
Motorola	16.0	15.5	15.8	-0.2
Rockwell	14.0	13.5	13.8	-0.2

AMEX Most Active

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Amgen	22.0	21.5	21.8	-0.2
Boehringer	20.0	19.5	19.8	-0.2
Glaxo	18.0	17.5	17.8	-0.2
Novartis	16.0	15.5	15.8	-0.2
Pfizer	14.0	13.5	13.8	-0.2
Schering	12.0	11.5	11.8	-0.2
Schwarz	10.0	9.5	9.8	-0.2
Upjohn	8.0	7.5	7.8	-0.2
Wampole	6.0	5.5	5.8	-0.2
Wyeth	4.0	3.5	3.8	-0.2

NYSE Diary

Class	Prev.	Chg.
Advanced	1.10	0.05
Declined	1.20	-0.05
Unchanged	1.30	0.00
Total Issues	4,354	

AMEX Diary

Class	Prev.	Chg.
Advanced	1.10	0.05
Declined	1.20	-0.05
Unchanged	1.30	0.00
Total Issues	4,354	

NASDAQ Diary

Class	Prev.	Chg.
Advanced	1.10	0.05
Declined	1.20	-0.05
Unchanged	1.30	0.00
Total Issues	4,354	

### Dow Jones Averages

Open	High	Low	Close	Chg.
INDUS	3548.4	3520.3	3522.1	-13.0
TRANS	1257.1	1242.2	1242.2	-1.0
UTIL	322.4	318.4	318.4	-4.0
COM	1002.3	1011.1	1011.1	+8.8

### Standard & Poor's Indexes

Index	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Industrials	512.3	508.1	508.1	-4.2
Transp.	34.9	34.5	34.5	-0.4
Utilities	42.8	41.8	41.8	-1.0
SP 500	479.4	475.3	475.3	-4.1

### NYSE Indexes

Index	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Composite	27.1	26.9	27.0	-0.1
Industrials	27.1	26.9	27.0	-0.1
Transp.	27.1	26.9	27.0	-0.1
Utilities	27.1	26.9	27.0	-0.1

### NASDAQ Indexes

Index	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Composite	27.1	26.9	27.0	-0.1
Industrials	27.1	26.9	27.0	-0.1
Transp.	27.1	26.9	27.0	-0.1
Utilities	27.1	26.9	27.0	-0.1

### AMEX Stock Index

Index	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Composite	27.1	26.9	27.0	-0.1
Industrials	27.1	26.9	27.0	-0.1
Transp.	27.1	26.9	27.0	-0.1
Utilities	27.1	26.9	27.0	-0.1

### Dow Jones Bond Averages

Index	High	Low	Close	Chg.
20 Bonds	107.2	107.0	107.0	-0.2
10 Utilities	104.2	104.0	104.0	-0.2

### Market Sales

Index	High	Low	Close	Chg.
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000
NASDAQ 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000

### N.Y.S.E. Odd-Lot Trading

Index	High	Low	Close	Chg.
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000
NASDAQ 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000

### S&P 100 Index Options

Index	High	Low	Close	Chg.
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000
NASDAQ 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000

### U.S. Futures

Index	High	Low	Close	Chg.
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000
NASDAQ 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000

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NYSE 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000
NASDAQ 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000

### EUROPEAN FUTURES

Index	High	Low	Close	Chg.
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000
NASDAQ 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000

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NYSE 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000
NASDAQ 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000

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NASDAQ 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000

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NYSE 4 a.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000
NASDAQ 4 p.m. volume	23,000,000	22,500,000	22,500,000	-500,000

	High	Low	Last Sale	Chg.
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	18,125	17,800	18,000	+125
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	18,125	17,800	18,000	+125
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	18,125	17,800	18,000	+125
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	18,125	17,800	18,000	+125
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## EUROPE

Denmark  
Cuts Key  
Rates Again

**COPENHAGEN** — Denmark's central bank announced a half-point cut Monday in its long-term interest rates, the second substantial reduction since Dames voted to approve the European Community's Maastricht treaty on May 18.

The move, effective Tuesday, lowers both the deposit rate and the discount rate to 7.75 percent from 8.25 percent. The bank had last cut the rates, by a full point, a day after the treaty was approved.

A central bank spokeswoman attributed Monday's move to satisfactory developments on currency markets and generally lower market rates.

The krona, protected by high interest rates since June last year, when Dames initially voted against Maastricht, showed little reaction to Monday's cut. It weakened slightly to 3.8273 to the Deutsche mark, from around 3.8255 before the cut.

The cut was slightly bigger than financial markets had expected and many dealers had not anticipated a reduction until Wednesday.

Less Than Ballardur Asked  
French Industry Limits Pledge on Jobs

**PARIS** — Under government pressure to help combat record unemployment, French business leaders pledged Monday to launch a national drive to train young workers, but they stopped short of a commitment requested by Prime Minister Edouard Balladur.

Mr. Balladur bluntly told 29 leaders of the employers' federation to haul France's economy out of recession by halting layoffs and committing to a goal of 200,000 extra apprenticeships.

Aides quoted Mr. Balladur as saying that his conservative government had done a lot to reduce the tax burden on industry and create "a favorable environment for growth." The ball now was in the employers' court, he said.

The federation's president, François Perigot, said his organization would launch a national drive next week to make the most of the government's job-creation measures and provide work experience for young people.

However, he said he had no right to ask companies to freeze layoffs if their economic survival was at stake. He noted that the government, too, was closing army bases as an economy measure.

"Don't ask me to make promises about jobs for young people," he told reporters. "I believe this kind of promise has no foundation in today's confused economic situation. But I can tell you we will do the maximum."

Government and independent forecasts indicate that the French economy is likely to contract by up to 1 percent in 1993.

Before the talks, officials said Mr. Balladur was impatient with the employers' reluctance to reciprocate for his tax concessions and irritated by a spate of layoffs that has taken the jobless rate to a record 10.9 percent. However, he showed no particular dissatisfaction after the meeting.

Mr. Perigot said before the talks that the government's revised budget lacked sufficiently powerful measures to save companies. Some industrialists have opposed the strong franc policy pursued by both Mr. Balladur and his Socialist predecessor, and have urged the government to devalue the currency, cut interest rates and go for growth.

Aides said Mr. Balladur had ruled out devaluation or a revival of inflation. Employers worry that the benefits from Mr. Balladur's measures to stimulate construction and public works and cut payroll taxes might be partially nullified by a rise in taxes on income to plug a deficit in social security.

The meeting took place amid controversy over attempts by some employers to impose wage cuts as an alternative to layoffs. Morin Emballage, a Sarrebourg packaging concern owned by the Swiss company Alusuisse, gave its 450 workers until Monday to accept without negotiation a 5 percent cut, cancellation of a 1.2 percent increase and the withholding of a 13th month payment to avoid layoffs.

Bankers Close In  
On Ferruzzi Group

**MILAN** — A group of Italian creditor banks is likely to take a one-third stake in Serafino Ferruzzi SpA, the Ferruzzi family's key holding company, in a debt-reduction swap, banking sources said Monday.

The sources said the Ferruzzi family accepted that its only hope to keep a leading role in the heavily indebted Ferruzzi group was the entry of outside shareholders into Serafino Ferruzzi, which has a 75.3 percent stake in Ferruzzi Finanziaria SpA.

On Friday, Serafino Ferruzzi and Ferruzzi Finanziaria said they had asked the consortium of state-controlled banks, led by Mediobanca SpA, to oversee an industrial restructuring of the Ferruzzi group and a debt-reduction program.

Two weeks ago, the Ferruzzi family said it intended to open the holding company to outside investors for the first time.

The sources said the most likely outcome was that the creditor banks — which also include Banca Commerciale Italiana, Banco di Roma, Credito Italiano and Istituto Bancario San Paolo di Torino

— would take a one-third share in Serafino Ferruzzi.

The Ferruzzi family would lower its stake in the holding company to 20 percent from 100 percent and the remaining third would go to institutional investors, according to the sources.

The final, detailed restructuring plan will be ready within 30 days, a Mediobanca source said.

In the meantime, the source said, the government will, as recently requested by the Bank of Italy, free banks to take major stakes in industrial companies.

Analysis said Antonio Maccanico, a former Mediobanca president and now a cabinet official, appears to have convinced the government of the need to restructure current regulations within a matter of weeks.

According to the latest company accounts, the Ferruzzi Group has almost 20 trillion lire (\$13.7 billion) in debts.

Ferruzzi Finanziaria last month announced a 1992 net loss of more than 1.5 trillion lire.

Investor's Europe				
Frankfurt DAX	London FTSE 100 Index	Paris CAC 40		
1200	3000	2100		
1600	2500	1800		
1800	2200	1600		
2000	2000	1400		
2200	1800	1200		
2400	1600	1000		
2600	1400	800		
2800	1200	600		
3000	1000	400		
3200	800	200		
3400	600	100		
3600	400	0		
3800	200	0		
4000	0	0		
4200	0	0		
4400	0	0		
4600	0	0		
4800	0	0		
5000	0	0		
5200	0	0		
5400	0	0		
5600	0	0		
5800	0	0		
6000	0	0		
6200	0	0		
6400	0	0		
6600	0	0		
6800	0	0		
7000	0	0		
7200	0	0		
7400	0	0		
7600	0	0		
7800	0	0		
8000	0	0		
8200	0	0		
8400	0	0		
8600	0	0		
8800	0	0		
9000	0	0		
9200	0	0		
9400	0	0		
9600	0	0		
9800	0	0		
10000	0	0		

## Very briefly:

- Klockner-Werke AG's creditors agreed to a restructuring plan including the sale of its steel division to a group led by Jürgen Grossman, a former chief executive of the division. For a nominal 2.50 Deutsche marks (\$1.50), votes were scheduled on whether to forgive its 2.7 billion DM of debt.
- BAA PLC, which operates Britain's international airports, said profits rose 49 percent to £285 million (\$434.8 million) in the year ended March 31, reflecting retail activities. Passenger traffic grew only 7.9 percent.
- Italy's trade balance with other EC countries swung to a surplus of 29 billion lire (\$20.1 million) in March, from a deficit of 1.675 trillion lire in March 1992, the statistical institute Istat said.
- Axel Springer Verlag AG said group net profit soared to 57 million Deutsche marks, from 11 million DM a year earlier, though sales fell 5.9 percent to 3.57 billion DM.
- Britain's longer-term leading cyclical indicator fell 0.4 percent in April, the Central Statistical Office said. The index is said to indicate economic trends about 11 months in advance.
- East German company insolvencies fell 6.2 percent to 9,807 in April, from 10,456 a year earlier, the Federal Statistics Office said. The figure was down 8.0 percent from 10,658 in the previous month.
- Coffee-trading nations announced an agreement to extend the current International Coffee Agreement beyond Oct. 1. The International Coffee Organization said 48 countries had voted in favor of extending the agreement, one had voted against, and one had abstained.
- A Philips Electronics NV executive, Gijb Wirtz, said sales of digital compact cassette players would reach about 300,000 to 400,000 in their first year of production, down from a forecast of 750,000 to 1 million made at the launching of the product in September 1992.

## GE: Company's Achievement of Prosperity Through Job Cuts May Be a Blueprint to Be Followed by Others

**Continued from Page 1**

the 1990s for America and is leading Europe's way.

Economists disagree about the causes, but the chain of events seems to be progressing like this:

- Under the weight of debt from the 1980s and the threat of global competition, business increased its efficiency. This meant fewer workers were needed to produce more goods. Companies became more profitable.
- Those laid off were forced to take whatever jobs they could get, usually at lower wages, and settled into the bottom half of a two-tier society. They not only carried the social costs of the restructuring but found themselves in competition with cheap labor in the Third World.
- With decreasing job security, the workers who used to serve as consumers for the products of industry were hesitant to buy them. The economy now depends more on investment for growth. In the long run this should increase wealth for everyone, if the strains on the society can be contained in the meantime.

As this process moves forward, the United States has started to regain its edge in productivity. Overall productivity rose 2.8 percent last year, the best gain in 20 years.

Moreover, productivity increases are not limited to manufacturing. A McKinsey & Co. study of productivity in the service sector shows improvements in airlines, banking, telecommunications and retailing.

"These things will happen in Europe if they really allow competition there," Martin Bailey of the Brookings Institution, one of the report's authors, said.

Way back when the great American corporations ruled the world's business, it was said that what was good for them was good for the country.

"At that time it made sense," says Audrey Freedman, a leading labor economist. "The huge corporations had a lot of market power and earned oligopoly profits, which were underwritten by our nation's dominance of the world economy. In exchange

the nation exacted a social role from them, but that doesn't fit with their situation any more."

But what is good for General Electric is not necessarily good for America, at least in the short run. A study of the 1980s by Margaret Blair of Brookings, called "The Deal Decade," reports that the principal result for companies that sank into debt to raise stockholder value was a decline in investment and in research and development.

Brand-name conglomerates such as Beatrice Foods and RJR Nabisco are coming apart, with RJR having off its profitable food divisions to avoid being dragged down by the cigarette bust.

Companies such as General Motors and IBM, which woke up late to market changes, now have to struggle to develop new ways of marketing and manufacturing with depleted financial resources while they pay off excess labor.

In theory, high productivity means that high earnings are spread around the society, enriching everyone. That link now

seems to be broken, and the rise in labor income that characterized the postwar era has turned into increases in profits.

The most significant change, according to Ms. Freedman, a former Labor Department economist who heads her own consulting firm, is the rise of what she calls "contingent employment" — contract labor in virtually every field from maintenance to management.

Even the says she is surprised to discover that almost all the recent employment gains by Manpower Inc., which provides temporary employees, had been in manufacturing, not in service industries. This means the company now is sending several hundred thousand workers to staff assembly lines for Fortune 500 companies — but without the job security and medical and other benefits that the companies used to provide.

The process of cutting GE's work force by one-quarter has left scars of mistrust that only now are beginning to heal. GE managed it without a major strike, in part because it had the money to buy its way out

of its obligations and in part because it had a friendly Republican administration that kept hands off American business in the 1980s.

The architect of all this, Mr. Welch, says he still agonizes over what he had to do but offers no regrets.

"Our people have learned the value of their jobs, and the principle that job security comes from winning," he says.

The point of trimming the workforce, said Mr. Doyle, was not just for the money, although that was important. The primary benefit, he said, was "the direct contact, the collegial feeling we got."

For those who survived the cuts, that is, little is heard of those who were "downsized" or "outplaced" by the more efficient system. Here as elsewhere, history is written by the winners.

**NEXT:** As American and European telephone and cable companies race to restructure for an era of multimedia communications, Japan's technologically rich giants are generally sitting on the sidelines.

## PIRELLI: The Company's New Approach to Business Mirrors the Broader Changes That Are Sweeping Italy

**Continued from Page 11**

vate sector industrial company after Fiat. The Ferruzzi family on Friday turned management of their debt-ridden group over to creditor banks.

At Pirelli, a strong family connection remains — family members and their allies control 54 percent of the group holding company — but almost everything else is in flux.

Here are some examples:

- The company is almost finished selling off its diversified products division, which used to account for 15 percent of sales.
- It sold its stake in Continental to German investors for 330 billion lire (\$223 million), reaping a capital gain of 140 billion lire.
- In 1992, Pirelli cut the number of manufacturing plants to 90 from 102 without a fall in production. Total sales rose slightly

to 8,252 billion lire and the group net loss narrowed to 105 billion lire from 566 billion lire a year earlier. Cash flow jumped to 708 billion lire from 35 billion lire and net debt fell to 2.69 trillion lire from 3.2 trillion.

- The company payroll was cut last year by 6,000 or 12.2 percent to 43,000 workers.
- In Bollate, near Milan, the company has built a completely automated tire factory that it calls the most modern in Europe.
- And La Bicocca, the factory at that was the original site of Pirelli's production activities, no longer turns out tires and is being transformed into Technocity, an urban technology park that the company described as the first big renewal project in a Milan "in a hurry to rebuild, physically and morally."
- Mr. Tronchetti personally recruited Sharon Stone, the star of "Basic Instinct,"

for a new commercial campaign targeting replacement tire buyers, a departure from the company's traditional focus on the original equipment market.

Asked why the changes are all coming now, though many of the problems were evident earlier, Mr. Tronchetti said simply, "I wasn't there." Margins were also higher in the old days, and, as in every old company, "there are many habits that are difficult to change," he added.

While many other Italian companies are shuffling management structures and turning to automation and just-in-time production techniques, analysts said Pirelli's restructuring was by far the country's most dramatic.

"Pirelli is the most ambitious because they were in the worst situation," said Umberto Bertek, deputy dean and business professor at the Milan Polytechnic Institute.

"A year ago, after the failure of its bid to take over Continental, the financial situation at Pirelli was dramatic, and the industrial situation — given Pirelli's relatively low market share — also seemed bleak," he said.

Now, he said, "I think Pirelli has taken the right road, even if, as in many sectors, it is not clear whether competition in the future will be really global or whether it will be possible to survive by being strong in some specific geographical area or specific product."

Pirelli has a global market share in tires of around 6 percent, making it the world's fifth-largest producer. In cables, it is the world's second-largest player after Alcatel of France.

Morgan Stanley, in a recent study, also concluded that Pirelli had been successful in focusing on a narrow market: "Pirelli

appears to represent the exception to received wisdom in the industry that tire companies need to be large and must keep growing in order to cover ever-tighter R&D costs. Pirelli's experience suggests the opposite."

"The main structural change undergone at Pirelli since the Conti affair has been the decision to drop coverage of areas where it has a marginal presence and concentrate instead on areas where its intermediate size is appropriate," the Morgan Stanley report said. This strategy has aimed to build on Pirelli's main strength, its brand name in high-performance tires for fast cars.

Other investment banks, including Goldman Sachs, CS First Boston and UBS, have put Pirelli on their lists of stocks expected to gain significantly over the next several years. The price of Pirelli shares has risen more than 200 percent from 1,116 lire at the end of last year to 3,480 lire Monday.

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# SPORTS NBA FINAL

## For Bulls, Jokes And Tension Come Before the Suns

By Malcolm Moran  
New York Times Service  
DEERFIELD, Ill. — The message inside the cartoonish huddle on the front of Scottie Pippen's hat, "I (AT) (NU)," held a sentiment that must have been left over from the last two weeks in the lives of the Chicago Bulls.

With the exception of Michael Jordan's continued public silence, any traces of anger seemed to have been replaced by a relaxed sense of anticipation as the Bulls prepared

for the National Basketball Association's first round of the playoffs. Then there is the matter of the two past playoff series between the Bulls and Barkley, before the trade last year that sent him to the Suns from Philadelphia. Both second-round series, in 1990 and 1991, ended with the Bulls winning in five games.

"Charles knows that," Jackson said. "And that helps. I'm sure he's got a better supporting cast than he has ever had in his life, but still, the fact is that we've had great success against teams that Charles has been on."

The Bulls were also drawing on recent history. They remembered a similar position in 1991, their first championship season. A cathartic four-game sweep of Detroit in the conference finals ended three straight years of frustration against the Pistons, but left the Bulls four victories away from a championship. A series with the Lakers still remained.

"At that time, we weren't as experienced," said center Bill Cartwright. "We were just happy to get past Detroit — that was the speculation amongst us guys. Amongst us, we felt we have this opportunity to win, we're certainly capable. Now, with us being pretty healthy, we're in the same situation."

John Paxson was more direct. "We understand there's still another series out there," he said. "There won't be any letdowns."

The list of countries and stadiums where the Bulls' championship series can be seen will appear Wednesday.

for the National Basketball Association's first round of the playoffs. Twice in recent days, Jordan and Phil Jackson, the coach of the Bulls, have discussed reports of Jordan's gambling. On Sunday, the coach teased his player about the task that remains.

With the New York Knicks' relentless defense no longer an obstacle, and the opportunity to become only the third NBA team to win as many as three consecutive titles before them, the Bulls could finally enjoy a chance to smile.

"There's a rumor going around Chicago that we won the most important series," Jackson said, repeating part of a conversation with Jordan. "I kind of kidded about that with him today, that the feeling is we beat New York, that's good enough. That's made a successful season for us."

The coach had made his point. On Friday night, during the victory over the Knicks that sent the Bulls to the finals, Jackson had tried, with little success, to ease Jordan's exhaustion. Sunday, Jackson said, he found Jordan to be attentive, energetic and upbeat. The coach seemed to look forward to the next challenge of the faster-paced, less-confrontational Suns.

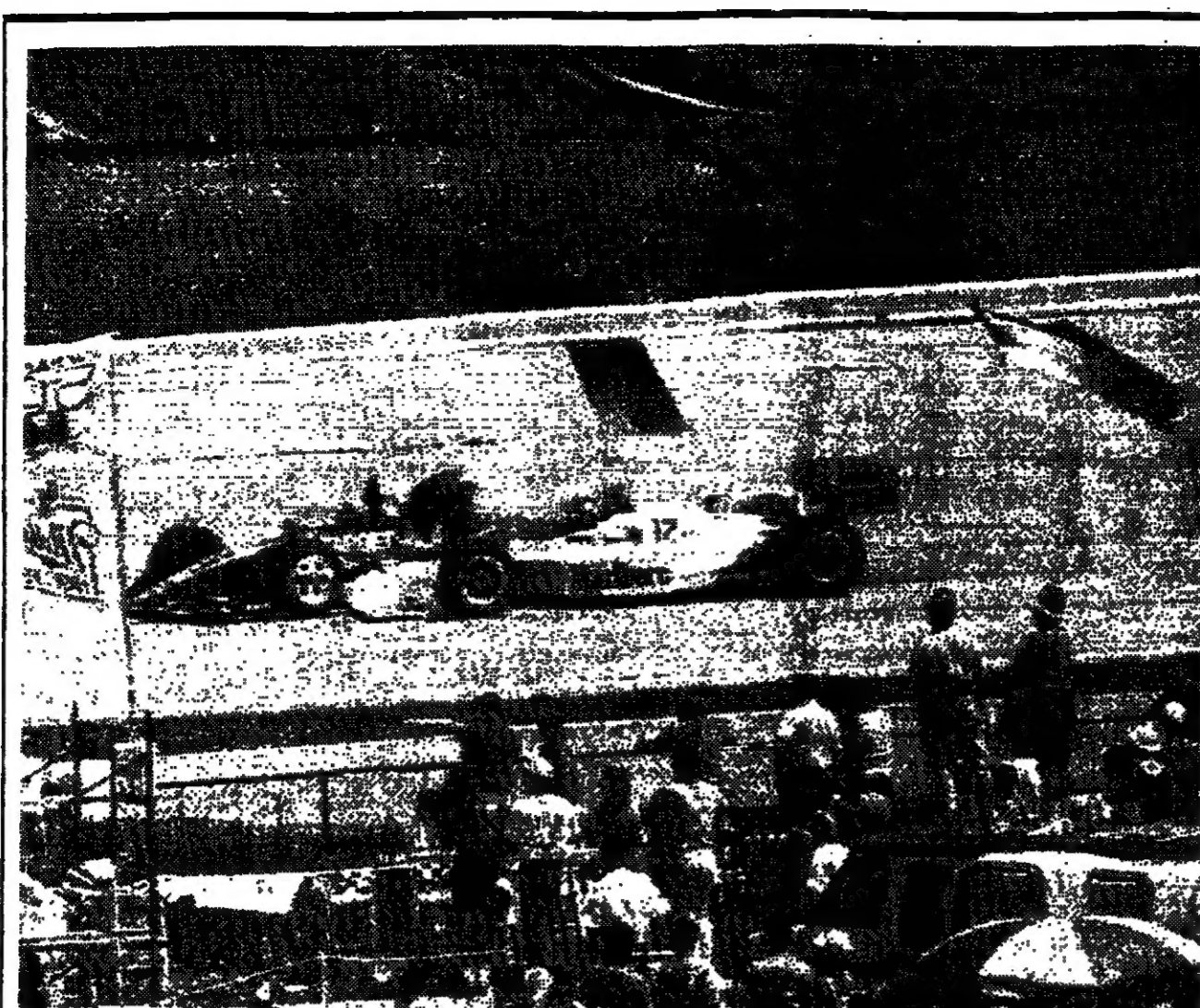
"We're going to see people met in the lane," Jackson said. "We're going to see bodies coming together in collisions. But we're not going to see the same kind of physical play."

"And I think it's going to be a little more of a liberating thing," he said. "Because these guys have been running around with a body strapped to them for the last two weeks. Now it's going to feel like they're dancing, they're free."

Phoenix will have to deal with a Chicago team that has held its playoff opponents beneath 100 points in 11 of 13 games, has not allowed more than 102 points, and has reduced its league-low regular-season average of 13.5 turnovers to 12.3 in the playoffs.

Jackson began the mind games for a new series, challenging reporters who had voted Charles Barkley most valuable player over Jordan to identify themselves. He saw one raised hand.

"Everybody knows in this league who the most valuable player is, and has been ever since he has been about two years into this league," Jackson said. "So I know there's going to be some drama behind that."



Scottie Pippen, who was leading at the time, collided with Arie Luyendyk on lap 141, knocking both cars out of the race.

## Mansell Wins Again, In Milwaukee Race

The Associated Press  
MILWAUKEE — You can believe Nigel Mansell when he says he's a fast learner.

The 39-year-old Englishman, making only his second start on an oval track, passed pole-winner Raul Boesel for the lead with 19 laps remaining, then held off the tenacious Brazilian on a restart two laps from the end to win Sunday's Miller Genuine Draft 200 at the Milwaukee Mile.

"I still consider myself on a learning curve," said the reigning Formula One champion, who picked up his second Indy car victory in five starts and added to the series point lead he brought into the 200-mile event, coming away with a 70-52 edge over Boesel, with third-place finisher Emerson Fittipaldi next with 51.

Mansell, who moved to the Indy car series over the winter and won the season-opener in Australia, finished third behind Fittipaldi and Arie Luyendyk in the Indianapolis 500 after the other two passed him on a late restart.

"I learned a very painful lesson in Indianapolis on the restart there," he said. "I wasn't going to have that happen again."

Boesel finished 0.514-seconds behind Mansell in the battle of Ford Cosworth-powered Lola's.

"I put some pressure on me to see if he pushed or would make a mistake, but that didn't happen," he said.

Boesel, hoping to earn his first win and give team owners Dick and Diane Simon their first-ever Indy car victory, lost the lead to Mansell on a clean pass on lap 182.

Mansell's pass for the lead came in traffic and only seconds after he nearly lost control in turbulent air in turn two.

"That was an exciting moment," Mansell said.

Traffic was a major problem through the race, with 17 of the 25 cars running at the end.

Paul Tracy, who crashed while leading a race at Phoenix in April, did it again at Milwaukee, this time tangling with Luyendyk on lap 142 when Luyendyk slowed to avoid the crashed car of rookie Adrian Fernandez of Mexico.

The only injury reported was a bruised knee suffered by Stefan Johansson of Sweden in a one-car crash early in the race.

Carl Haas, co-owner of Newman-Haas Racing with actor Paul Newman that fields cars for Mansell and Mario Andretti, and also the promoter of the Milwaukee race, said, "I'm just terribly impressed with Nigel. It's only his second oval race. He never saw this place before Friday. I was just hoping to go away from here with some points."

## A Linguini Killer vs. the Clam

By Tom Friend  
New York Times Service  
PHOENIX — With Charles Barkley starring for the Suns, this will either be a championship series or a situation comedy. No media boycotts out here.

Barkley, a rebounding and quote machine, will be asked in the next fortnight about Michael Jordan, gambling, golf, badness, role models and Madonna, and he will answer his heart out.

"I'm going to be on NBC at least four times, and Madonna won't be," said Barkley, who is finally admitting that the singer/actress is his telephone pal. "I'll get more pub than her. Of course, she's got her movies. I've got to win a ring first, then I can make a movie. I'm on a mission."

For the first time since Jordan tangled with Magic Johnson in 1991, the National Basketball Association has a marquee matchup for the finals, even with only half of the billboard speaking.

Jordan's two-time defending champion Bulls are finesse, and Barkley's never-before-a-champion Suns are finesse, so it should be a sprint of a four-of-seven games series, assuming Barkley's body has again been remonstrated with pasta.

Barkley said he was "killing" linguini the day before the Suns' Western Conference finals with Seattle, which is how he mustered enough strength to score 44 points and 24 rebounds in a 123-110 victory. Otherwise, considering he has mostly been a one-man band since October, Barkley's legs would have been lead.

As the Suns look ahead to this final round, the franchise's first since its epic loss to John Havlicek's Boston Celtics in 1976, they need the Barkley of Saturday, the Richard Dumas of February and the Tom Chambers of 1985. They need Kevin Johnson's offense, Dan Majerle's defense and Oliver Miller to stop sneaking French fries.

The difference in the two teams is that the Bulls have proved they can win when Jordan has a mediocre game (see Scottie Pippen in the Knicks series), whereas the Suns have flopped whenever Barkley has turned mundane.

Barkley knows this, which is why he told the Suns executive, Cotton Fitzsimmons, last weekend. "You're lucky to have me."

Unfortunately for Phoenix, Barkley matches up with neither Jordan nor Pippen. Jordan is much too swift for Barkley and likely will be shadowed instead by Majerle, a hyperdefender who silenced Seattle's Ricky Pierce on Saturday. Pippen also may be too slippery for Barkley, which makes Dumas who in February was being compared to Julius Erving — a centerpiece again.

Dumas, a rookie, was benched in the seventh game against Seattle, simply because he could not match up with the Sonics' 6-foot, 10-inch Derrick McKey. Coach Paul Westphal, so that Dumas would not have his chin buried in his chest, said he promised Dumas before Saturday's tip-off, "If we advance, you'll start against Chicago."

Pippen is more Dumas's size, and the fast tempo may illuminate

Dumas's game. On the other hand, the Suns wish they had a healthy Cedric Ceballos, a jumping jack of a small forward who scored 30 in a regular-season Suns victory in Chicago. But Ceballos has a stress fracture in his left foot, had surgery on Saturday and is now an assistant coach.

If Dumas fails against Pippen, the onus falls on Chambers, a 34-year-old former All-Star who alternately airballed and swished shots in the Seattle series. Saturday was one of his flashback days, as he scored 17, but he still is several years removed from being able to agitate Pippen.

"I think Phoenix is in for a dog fight," said Seattle's Eddie Johnson. "Chicago's got Superman and the second coming of Superman in Pippen. I don't think they'll let Barkley cream them. They've got big bodies, too, that aren't offensive-minded — Horace Grant, Scott Williams. Those guys think defense for 48 minutes."

The one Sun the Bulls likely cannot account for is Kevin Johnson, an angry point guard who has been labeled injury-prone and a past Phoenix scapegoat who agrees he has "a chip on his shoulder." B.J. Armstrong of the Bulls cannot keep up with this wisp.

"I've said 100 times we can only go as far as us two can carry us, me and K.J.," Barkley said.

Seattle's coach, George Karl, said the Suns can win if they "can score 100 points," but most experts consider Phoenix "soft" and favor the Bulls. Barkley, smiling and

## Azinger's Chip Steals Memorial

New York Times Service  
DUBLIN, Ohio — With the greatest sand shot ever hit by the best bunker player on the PGA Tour, Paul Azinger made a lightning bolt of a birdie on the 72d hole to steal the Memorial Tournament from his close friend, Payne Stewart.

Trailing Stewart by one stroke on the final hole Sunday, Azinger nipped the ball from what appeared to be a hopeless position at the bottom of a steep bunker. The ball barely cleared the lip, skittered for two hops and rolled slowly toward the hole 20 feet away. There, it teetered on the left edge and fell in.

Azinger fell to his knees in the sand. Stewart was so shocked he missed the 8-foot putt he needed to tie.

Azinger finished 69-274, a stroke better than Corey Pavin, who closed with 67. Stewart, who was so undone that he fumbled the 3-foot putt to tie and finished third at 276.

Full of I-told-you-so's, adores this rare underdog role.

Pick against him, you instantly become his enemy. And that includes the Knicks' Patrick Ewing, who has predicted a Bulls title.

"Patrick's on vacation, isn't he?" Barkley said. "People who ain't working shouldn't voice their opinion on the economy. Catch my drift?"

## The Souring of Michael Jordan

By Ira Berkow  
New York Times Service  
NEW YORK — Michael Jordan was stretched out on a couch in a hotel room in Cleveland with earphones on, quietly listening to music, and thinking. Thinking not so much of the Bulls' playoff game the next night, or of those many games ahead or the glorious games behind, but of his simple good fortune.

"Amazing how things have clicked so perfectly," he said then, "and how easily everything might have gone sour."

Gone sour? "Well," he said, "like the gambling." At the time, he thought he had dodged a bullet.

But another, striking image of him occurred last Friday night in Chicago Stadium, in the sixth and final game of the Eastern Conference finals against the Knicks. In the second half, the World's Best Basketball Player, the World's Greatest Athlete and Corporate America's Darling, appeared, even to his coach, Phil Jackson, "fartgassed."

He appeared to have lost some of his exalted bounce. Things were souring.

First had come the news that Jordan had been gambling in Atlantic City until 2:30 in the morning when he had a game that night in Madison Square Garden. He said he was back in his Manhattan hotel room by 1 A.M. — and he scored 36 points in that game, although Chicago lost. But the questions and the headlines nagged him to such a degree that the usually gregarious Jordan clammed up.

Then, on the eve of Friday's game, a book by Richard Ekins, one of Jordan's former golfing pals, was circulated, saying that Jordan had owed Ekins as much as \$1.25 million on bets, then had negotiated the debt down to \$300,000 but had repaid only \$200,000. Ekins got on television and told how he wrote the book to help himself get over a gambling addiction and to help Michael Jordan get over denial of a gambling addiction. It sounded self-righteous and self-serving. Nothing in Ekins's background demonstrated such charitable proclivities. It sounded as if Richard Ekins wanted to cash in on Michael Jordan as many, from Nike to McDonald's, have done.

But the book has the ring of truth to it.

We know that in the past, Jordan incurred losses of \$37,000 in golf, poker and dice to a convicted cocaine dealer named James (Slim) Boulter and that photocopies of three of Jordan's checks totaling \$108,000 were found in the room of a murdered bail bondsman's son.

While all this may be Jordan's private business, it does, of course, have an impact on his place in the sports world. "And this is just the gambling debts that we know of," Ekins said. He wonders, legitimately, if Jordan, this meaner-than-a-junkyard-dog competitor, has debts strewn around the country from "chasing," the term used for doubling up on your losses to try to get even, in the way that Ekins says the \$1.25 million debt was created.

Jordan has issued a statement, calling Ekins's figures "preposterous." But when Ekins writes that Jordan explained that a million dollars for him was the equivalent of \$100,000 or less for Ekins, it sounds accurate. Jordan, conceivably embarrassed by his gambling losses, and perhaps now exposed not only as a fish but a welder, becomes mentally exhausted.

Does Jordan have a gambling problem? Does he simply use bad judgment? Or is all this blows out of proportion?

WOULD MICHAEL JORDAN ever entertain for a second the notion that he could shave a few points in a game to shave his gambling debt? Or could he be prevailed upon, as Ekins wonders, to sit out a game with something like a twisted ankle?

It boggles the imagination to even consider Jordan in this context. Which is why all this should legitimately scare him. For Jordan, despite all his levitation, is human.

Jordan contemplates, too, the time when he will retire from basketball. "I don't want to go out the way I did," he said. "As great as it was, people were saying he was over the hill, couldn't do what he used to do. I thought he was still great when I saw him, but I don't want people saying that about me. You know, three years from now, I might not be here, either."

For now, though, he has a National Basketball Association championship series against Phoenix and Charles Barkley with which to concern himself.

Michael Jordan seeks to win a third straight NBA title, a dream for him, a sweet dream in a time of sour.

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## ART BUCHWALD

## Hit the Ground Jogging

WASHINGTON — The recent fire storm over the president's decision to withdraw my name as his secretary for jogging has Washington aghast.

"How," the town is asking, "could the White House have selected Buchwald for this cabinet post in the first place?"

I hate jogging, and I hate people who jog. I think that it's a silly way for anyone to spend his time, and all you get out of it is pain.

My views have been published in such learned journals as *Athlete's Foot*, *Vanity Fair* and *Broken Knees Magazine*.

Why the White House had read them before offering me the job is something I'll never know.

I recall vividly the first meeting I had with the White House personnel committee.

"Does the president know how much I hate jogging?" I asked a 23-year-old aide.

"The president just wants the best man for the job and the only thing he feels bad about is that you are not a woman. He's willing to

make an exception for you because you come so highly recommended by Barbara Streisand. We don't think that we'll have any trouble from the FBI about you because of all the gold medals you have won in the Olympics."

"I've never won any gold medals in the Olympics."

"Well, someone in your family has or it wouldn't be in your file."

I agreed to allow my name to be submitted for the job assuming that once the White House recommended me for a position, it would be a shoo-in.

It didn't turn out to be that way. The Reebok sneaker people were the first to discover where I stood on the jogging issue and launched a full-scale advertising campaign against the appointment. Nike followed with a television attack showing hidden video footage of me as a fat, listless person who couldn't see his shoelaces to tie them.

The media began to question President Clinton's judgment in selecting someone as controversial as myself to such a vital post.

Finally, at 3 o'clock in the morning the president called me to the White House and said, "You're dead."

"Does this mean that you're not going to back me as your jogging chief?"

"I made a mistake. I didn't know that you hated jogging as much as you do."

"I have good reason. People who jog always look as if they need a bath."

"Nevertheless, there are too many joggers in the Senate who could block your nomination. I can't defend the articles that you have written ridiculing their favorite pastime."

"I can understand that, Mr. President, but there are a lot of people out there who hate jogging as much as I do. Shouldn't they have a voice in this administration?"

"Of course, but I have to think of my budget first and I can't afford to go to battle for someone who considers that running is dumb."

"Why are you doing this, sir?"

"It's very simple. I can't stand the heat so I'm getting out of the kitchen."

## U.S. Agency Settles Suit by 4 Artists

WASHINGTON — The National Endowment for the Arts has agreed to give \$128,000 to four artists who claimed that their applications for grants were rejected improperly.

The out-of-court settlement ends the dispute between the agency and Karen Finley, Holly Hughes, Tim Miller and John Fleck. A portion of the suit that disputes the constitutionality of the "standards of decency" provision of the NEA statute is still being considered. The artists will receive \$32,000 to compensate for the grants that were denied them in 1990 and \$6,000 for each to meet their claims under the Privacy Act that information about them was illegally released to the media.

## A Vietnam Movie Through a Different Lens

By Linda Ilene Solomon

PARIS — Despite the large number of Vietnam War films produced in the past 15 years, theatergoers don't know much about the special kind of angst the war created for immigrant Vietnamese in America.

Tiana Alexandra's award-winning documentary "From Hollywood to Hanoi," promises to change that.

"I used to apologize for being Vietnamese," says the Vietnamese-born, American-reared actress-turned filmmaker. "As children in American schools, we were labeled the geeks, the Chinks, the Viet Cong. Vietnamese were the guys killing American GIs. I wanted to be good and that meant being American. What kind of role models are we giving Asian-American kids now except for Rambo? We must have other role models."

As writer, director, star and promoter of "From Hollywood to Hanoi," Alexandra, whose Vietnamese name is The Thanh Nga, is the role model.

The daughter of a former director of press relations for the foreign ministry of South Vietnam, Alexandra left Vietnam in 1966 when she was 4 years old. Her father told her to take a good look at her country because she would never see it again. The family settled in Washington, where Alexandra's father went to work for the Voice of America. At the age of 12 she began studying martial arts with Bruce Lee.

"I was the original Karate Kid," she says.

After starting in action films and a how-to Jane Fonda-style "Karate-size video," she came to be known as "the female Bruce Lee." She was Lee's only female student in Hollywood where he took her to visit a tournament, he introduced her as his protégée. At 16, she ran away from home and set herself up in Hollywood, where she played in a number of films including "Pearl," "Fly Away Home" and "Catch the Heart." She was also known as Tiana Banana, rock video star.

"I was a performing monkey. Ever since I was a little kid I wanted to please," Alexandra says.

In Hollywood, however, the desire to please was a double-edged sword. "So many producers in Hollywood think if you're an Asian actress coming for casting, you're going to give them a message, right then and there. There was a very well-known producer. When I came to see him, he locked the door, lounged on the couch and kicked off his shoes."

"He said, 'All Orientals are exotic and they all give great massages. Are you good at giving massages?' I was a black-belt martial artist in great form. I could have just karate-chopped him and that would

have been the end of it. But I told him to unlock the door or I would climb out his first-floor window. He opened the door. On the way out I turned to his secretary and said, 'Do you know what kind of man that you work for, who locks the door when he's casting for actresses? Afterwards I started to think, I'm not putting up with this any more. I want to do what he does. I want to be him. I want to have the casting couch.'

Disenchanted with Hollywood and frustrated by the limited roles available for Shakespearean-trained Asian-American actresses, Alexandra took the advice of her acting teacher, Sandra Seacat, who told her she'd find "all the power in the universe" in going back to her roots. Her father, an ardent anti-Communist, opposed her going back to Vietnam, but she made the trip anyway in 1988 with a delegation of Vietnamese veterans and filmmakers. The delegation included Oliver Stone ("Born on the Fourth of July," "Platoon" and "JFK"), himself a Vietnam veteran.

When the mayor of Vinh, the birthplace of Ho Chi Minh, asked Alexandra to "help build a bridge," it struck a deep chord. Alexandra recalls:

"She broke into sonnets and said 'a bridge of friendship that we can build together from San Francisco to Vinh, to cross together and share a new language.' Day by day people were talking to me like this. I was breaking down and crying. I realized that I had come home, that I was among people who were speaking my language and that it was the language of poetry."

Stone, observing this, was impressed. He told Alexandra, "You have to go back and make this film."

She said, "What film?"

He said, "Of people's reaction to you. Don't you see it? Their reaction to you is the healing and reconciliation for you and your people. This is going to be bigger than you can imagine. This is going to be the most powerful, incredible thing that you ever do."

"Oliver's a little grandiose," she laughs, "but there was truth about reconciliation in what he said. It became my goal to shoot footage in Hanoi, the forbidden territory, to give faces and voices to people whose stories we've never heard."

Within six weeks of the first trip, she gave up her rented Beverly Hills house, sold everything she owned at a garage sale, got a BBC cameraman who was willing to defer his pay and went back to Vietnam.

In the five and a half years that followed, she was essentially homeless. She lived on a futon in her film lab and traveled to Vietnam 12 more times, recruiting and training a Vietnamese crew. Oliver Stone



Tiana Alexandra: "My heart is with the people of Vietnam."

and Michael ("Roger and Me") Moore helped finance the film.

The crew followed her on emotional road trips with relatives such as her uncle, a former minister of defense for South Vietnam, who was thought killed in a Communist re-education camp, and adult children of Vietnamese women and American GIs — none of whom had ever met their fathers. (Their freckled faces, black skin or blue eyes make them outcasts in Vietnamese society.)

There are interviews with two young women who survived My Lai. Also included are such notables as General Vo Nguyen Giap, whose North Vietnamese forces defeated the French and the Americans, and General William Westmoreland, former commander of the U.S. forces in Vietnam.

Throughout the film, Alexandra is interviewer, narrator and subject, is sensitive, charming, and funny. As she bridges the divisions inside herself and her displaced family, "From Hollywood to Hanoi" transcends the personal to become a universal story of modern immigrant trauma.

"My heart is with the people of Vietnam," she says. "We need to know how they've survived since the war and what's going on in postwar Vietnam. In modern history, there's never been a country that survived a major war without being rebuilt."

How do you bomb a country for decades and spend billions of dollars to destroy it and then turn around and forget about it?"

After winning Best of Teluride at the Telluride Film Festival and a nomination for best film at the Sundance Film Festival, Alexandra accepted a professorship at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire, where she will teach film this summer, and, for the first time in more than five years, she will have a home.

"I'd like to inspire other filmmakers not to be afraid of tackling nonfiction films," she says. "Because most of us are sick and tired of slick Hollywood movies. The studios are all going to go bankrupt making \$40 million films that nobody wants to see. We could make 40 nonfiction films with what they spend on one movie and entertain people, as we illuminate them. As filmmakers, we would be more fulfilled and a whole generation of people would be better for it."

"Let the public decide," Alexandra says. "Is 'Rambo' a real movie, or is 'From Hollywood to Hanoi' a real movie?"

Her answer is definitive: "I'm making real movies."

Linda Ilene Solomon is a free-lance writer living in Paris.

## PEOPLE

## 'Spider Woman' Leads With 7 Tony Awards

"Kiss of the Spider Woman" was the big winner up at the Tony Awards presentation with seven awards, including best musical. "Angels in America: Millennium Approaches" won four awards, including best play, and "Tommy," the rock opera by The Who, won five. Other awards were: Ron Leibman, best actor in a play ("Angels"); Brent Carver and Chita Rivera, best actor and actress in a musical ("Spider Woman"); and Madeline Kahn, best actress in a play ("The Sisters Rosenzweig").

Will it never end? The Daily Express reports that Prince Charles "gave up" his relationship with Camilla Parker Bowles long before the publication of an alleged conversation between them that outraged Britain. The paper quoted an unidentified friend of the prince as saying that the relationship ended in 1991 — long before Charles and Princess Diana separated in December 1992. The conversation supposedly took place on Dec. 18, 1989.

The singer Mariah Carey married the boss — Sony Music's president, Thomas Mottola — in a New York ceremony attended by Barbara Streisand, Bruce Springsteen, Billy Joel and Dick Clark.

Yayoi Tada, a 25-year-old Japanese, has won Belgium's Queen Elisabeth violin contest. Simone Pedroni, a 24-year-old Italian, took top honors in the Ninth Van Cliburn International Piano Competition at Fort Worth, Texas.

The script for the Palme d'Or-winning movie "The Piano" shows remarkable similarities to a book published in 1938, according to the Sunday Star in Auckland. Jane Campion, a New Zealand director, conceived, wrote and directed the film, which shared the award in Cannes, France, last month. The Star said the script was similar to a 1938 Jane Mander novel, "The Story of a New Zealand River." Mander died in 1949; her estate holds the copyright.

## INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED

Appears on Pages 13 & 15

## WEATHER

Forecast for Wednesday through Friday, as provided by Accu-Weather.

Europe	Today	High	Low	Tomorrow	High	Low
Algeria	25/22	15/08	22/11	15/08	22/11	15/08
Amsterdam	20/14	10/01	20/17	10/01	20/17	10/01
Antwerp	20/14	10/01	20/17	10/01	20/17	10/01
Athens	25/17	10/01	24/25	15/03	24/25	15/03
Berlin	20/14	10/01	20/17	10/01	20/17	10/01
Brussels	20/14	10/01	20/17	10/01	20/17	10/01
Copenhagen	18/06	11/02	20/28	13/06	20/28	13/06
Dublin	17/02	11/02	20/28	13/06	20/28	13/06
Frankfurt	21/08	12/05	20/27	12/05	20/27	12/05
Geneva	21/08	12/05	20/27	12/05	20/27	12/05
Hamburg	20/14	10/01	20/17	10/01	20/17	10/01
London	20/14	10/01	20/17	10/01	20/17	10/01
Madrid	20/14	10/01	20/17	10/01	20/17	10/01
Munich	20/14	10/01	20/17	10/01	20/17	10/01
Nice	25/17	10/01	24/25	15/03	24/25	15/03
Paris	20/14	10/01	20/17	10/01	20/17	10/01
Rome	25/17	10/01	24/25	15/03	24/25	15/03
Stockholm	18/06	11/02	20/28	13/06	20/28	13/06
Toronto	20/14	10/01	20/17	10/01	20/17	10/01
Warsaw	20/14	10/01	20/17	10/01	20/17	10/01
Zurich	20/14	10/01	20/17	10/01	20/17	10/01



**North America**  
Wednesday will be the hottest day so far this year in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C., with sun, rain, and thunderstorms. Remaining hot Thursday, then thunderstorms possible Friday. Thunderstorms in Chicago Wednesday and in Toronto Wednesday and Thursday.

Asia	Today	High	Low	Tomorrow	High	Low
Bangkok	34/20	24/76	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
Beijing	31/18	12/53	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
Hong Kong	28/16	24/76	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
Manila	34/20	24/76	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
New Delhi	34/20	24/76	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
Seoul	28/16	24/76	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
Singapore	34/20	24/76	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
Taipei	34/20	24/76	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
Tokyo	34/20	24/76	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76

Africa	Today	High	Low	Tomorrow	High	Low
Algiers	28/16	12/53	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
Cairo	34/20	24/76	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
Harare	28/16	12/53	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
Johannesburg	28/16	12/53	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
Nairobi	28/16	12/53	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
Tripoli	28/16	12/53	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76

**South America**  
Warm and humid in Shanghai Wednesday through Friday. Showers and thunderstorms are likely by week's end. Very warm in Beijing Wednesday and Thursday, then thunderstorms possible Friday. Muggy in Hong Kong Wednesday and Thursday, then thunderstorms possible Friday. Muggy in Hong Kong Wednesday and Thursday, then thunderstorms possible Friday.

Latin America	Today	High	Low	Tomorrow	High	Low
Buenos Aires	28/16	12/53	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
Caracas	34/20	24/76	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
La Paz	28/16	12/53	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
Managua	28/16	12/53	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
Medan	28/16	12/53	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
San Jose	28/16	12/53	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76
Santiago	28/16	12/53	30/86	24/76	30/86	24/76

## BOOKS

## LENIN'S TOMB: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire

By David Remnick. Illustrated. 576 pages. \$25. Random House.

Reviewed by Herbert Mitgang

IT is winter 1991 in the Soviet Union. The spirit of the Moscow Spring of 1988 is gone. Mikhail S. Gorbachev is still leading the country, but the generals, the military-industrial complex, the Communist Party apparatus and the KGB are demanding that he turn away from his reform-minded advisers, and he does so.

Something is in the air. In the land of revolution, the modern counterrevolution that introduced perestroika and glasnost is about to eat its own children.

During a session of the Congress of People's Deputies that winter, David Remnick, a correspondent for The Washington Post, encounters Gorbachev on a stairway and bursts out, "Mikhail Sergeevich, they say you are moving to the right." Gorbachev, his mouth clenched in "a pained, ironic grin," says that the truth is he feels "as if I am going around in circles."

In "Lenin's Tomb," Remnick, now a staff writer for The New Yorker, has a great story to tell and he tells it brilliantly.

During the four crucial years of counter-revolution, attempted coup and transition that led to the ascendancy of Boris N. Yeltsin, Remnick was present at the creation of the new Russia.

The title of his book is metaphorical; it doesn't really cover the dictatorial reigns of Lenin and Stalin.

Rather, it's about the disenchantment of many Russians with the theories and practices underlying Soviet communism.

Remnick's book goes a long way toward answering the tantalizing question of why Americans and Europeans were once so enamored of Gorbachev and then, suddenly and surprisingly, discovered that he wasn't a man for all seasons in an unshackled Soviet Union. He describes the Soviet breakup through the eyes of dissidents as well as supplies his own interpretations.

In a few straightforward lines that sum up the theme of "Lenin's Tomb," Remnick writes: "Once the regime eased up enough to permit a full-scale examination of the Soviet past, radical change was inevitable. Once the System showed itself for

what it was and had been, it was doomed."

During the near-fictional high noon in the summer of 1991 for the two leading personalities in the Soviet Union, Yeltsin and Gorbachev, it was Yeltsin, and then discarded into the dustbin of history.

How could this happen to the highly intelligent yet implacable leader of the counter-revolution? The answer that appears to emerge from Remnick's well-sourced book is that Gorbachev wanted to recreate communism with a human face, a contradiction in terms that, given the record of seven decades of rigid state planning, could not work.

By contrast, Yeltsin had a better sense of what was really going on in the country. He and others detected that an attempted military coup was possible by anti-reform elements: Gorbachev wouldn't be-

lieve it. Remnick is clearly a Yeltsin admirer.

He writes, "Despite the Kremlin's best efforts, the history of Soviet politics will show it was Yeltsin — vain, comic, clever, crude — who accelerated the essential step in political reform: the shattering of the Communist Party monolith."

The high point of "Lenin's Tomb" is the attempted coup against Gorbachev, and Remnick delivers the details excitingly, including Yeltsin's courageous takeover.

WHAT THEY'RE READING

Lord Young, executive chairman of Cable & Wireless PLC and former government trade minister, is reading Thomas Mann's "Joseph and His Brothers."

"It is probably the best book I have ever read. It is terribly long and I tend to like long books. It is a simple story out of the Bible and it gives a vivid impression of life at that time."

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WHAT THEY'RE READING

charge role in the face of the tanks and cannons.

There are a few minor shortcomings of style and substance. Remnick brings himself into the book a little too often, breaking the stride of his narrative and forgetting that he's an observer, not a participant in these momentous events.

And though he touches upon it, he might well have placed more importance on the lingering significance of the tens of millions of casualties suffered by the Russians during the Great Patriotic War, as they call World War II, and the continuing effects of the Cold War on the people and government.

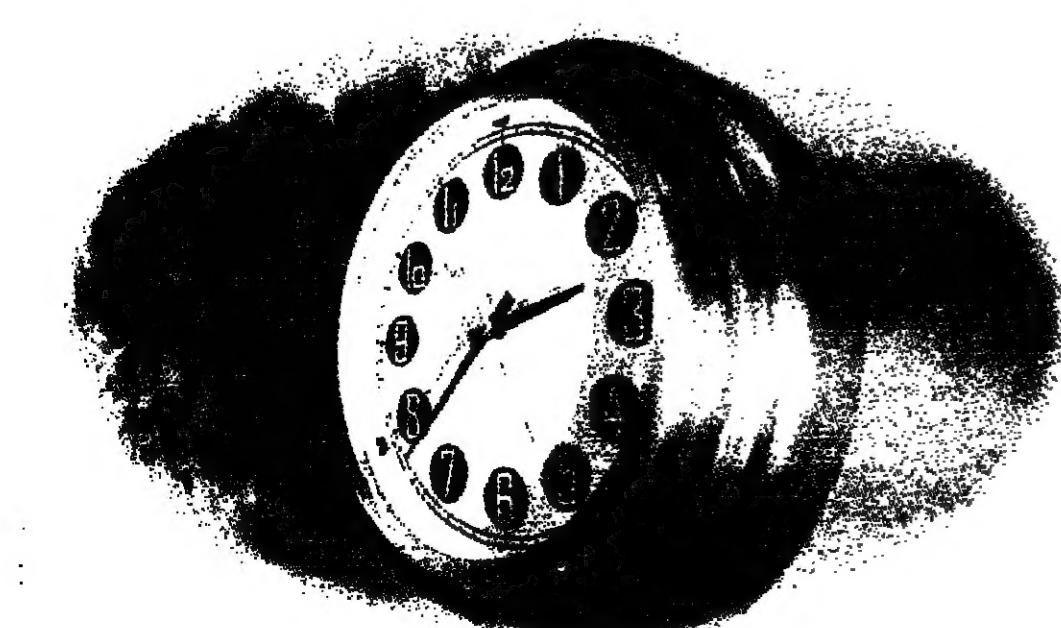
In addition to talks with the major personalities in the Politburo, the most original contributions in "Lenin's Tomb" are the author's interviews with historical figures or their widows and children, both famous

and little known, who somehow survived the Stalinist purges.

For example, Remnick describes a visit with Dr. Yakov Rapoport, now 91 and the only survivor of the 1953 "doctors' plot." In that time of anti-Semitic paranoia at its worst, Stalin ordered the KGB to kill prominent doctors, most of them Jews, who were accused of poisoning Kremlin leaders. Rapoport was let out of prison only after Stalin died later that year.

There are, literally, hundreds of such interviews with legislators, historians, militarists, nationalists, journalists and party apparatchiks. They make "Lenin's Tomb" an engrossing and essential addition to the human and political literature of our time.

Herbert Mitgang is on the staff of The New York Times.



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